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# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

March, 1946

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# **MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY**

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## JAKOB WASSERMANN'S CONCEPTION AND TREATMENT OF CHARACTER

By JOHN C. BLANKENAGEL

Jakob Wassermann has frequently been sharply criticized because of alleged fondness for portraying singular, erratic, grotesque individuals. In his character drawing he has been charged with violent sensationalism, fantastic exaggeration, unseemly striving for effect, and morbid insistence on irrational, discordant, convulsive, bizarre, and abnormal traits. Some of his critics roundly assert that Wassermann's characters are distorted, contradictory, neurotic, caricatured, shadowy, baroque, and unintelligible.<sup>1</sup> These are serious charges

<sup>1</sup> Kurt Jahn, "Die Geschichte der jungen Renate Fuchs," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, XXII (1901), 2999: "Fast alle Personen und Kreise sind kariert."

Kurt Goldschmidt, "Jakob Wassermann," *Nord und Süd*, CVII (1903), 382: "Erstens nämlich hat Wassermann mit den sogenannten 'Neu-Romantikern' . . . die Neigung zu allerhand bizarr-phantastischem Schnörkelwerk gemein, zu Allem, was die Alltäglichkeit eigenwillig durchbricht und kraus belebt. Er liebt kuriose Namen; komische Käuze, Sonderlinge und Grillenfänger; seltsame Geschehnisse, denen irgendwie der Reiz der Singularität zu gute kommt."

Arthur Eloesser, "Neue Bücher," *Neue Deutsche Rundschau*, XIV (1903), 264: "Auch in der Renate Fuchs neigen die Figuren durch die schroffste Ausbildung ihrer Eigenheiten etwas zur Karikatur, sie haben, wenn sie sich bewegen, etwas Verzerres, Ausgerenktes, nur die Heldin nicht."

Ernst von Wolzogen, "Aus meinem Leben," *Westermanns Monatshefte*, CXXX, part 1 (1921), 149: "An knifflische Seelenzergliederungen geht er mit der Lust eines Talmudisten heran und freut sich an den scheinbar unlöslichen Widersprüchen im Charakter seiner Geschöpfe. Einfache, gesunde Menschen reizen ihn nicht zur Darstellung, und wo er sie als Kontrastfiguren braucht, fallen sie als wenig gelungen auf. Seine novellistischen Meisterstücke hat er darum auch in jenen kleinen Werken geliefert, die sich um krankhafte, seltsam zwiespältige Naturen drehen."

Friedrich von der Leyen, *Deutsche Dichtung in neuer Zeit* (Jena: Diederichs, 1927), p. 315: "Das Außerordentliche, ohne das die Kunst nun einmal nicht sein kann, wird auf anderm Wege gesucht, im Stil, . . . oder auch in den absonderlichsten Charakteren, in Neurasthenikern, in Liebhabern der Hysterie, in Menschen, die des Übermaßes der auf sie einströmenden Eindrücke nicht Herr werden."

Frank Thiess, "Wassermanns Etzel Andergast," *Die literarische Welt*, VII, No. 17 (1931), 2: "Daher die pathologische Situation, das Krampfge, Lichtlose, Überspannte aller jungen Menschen, die in diesem Roman unsere Jugend repräsentieren."

Josef Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften*, 3. Aufl. (Regensburg: Habel, 1932), IV, 915: "Die Vorliebe für Sonderlinge, der Blick für die Fratzen und Masken des Lebens, für das Groteske und Barocke, für das Erhabene und Lächerliche in einer Gebärde, für die Abgründe des Schlichten und Einfachen lassen ihn beinahe in Johann Paul Richters Nähe erscheinen."

Th. C. Van Stockum and J. Van Dam, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*

which usually are not tempered by analysis or explanation; they invite a dispassionate study of the author's work with the aim of shedding light on his apparent predilection for unusual and somewhat baffling human beings.

Wassermann's conception of human nature was very different from that held by the naturalists of the late nineteenth century. As positivists, they inclined toward undue simplification in character portrayal. They insisted that human beings are not sharply differentiated, since they are moulded by common factors over which they have little or no control. The naturalist viewed men in the mass, as creatures of the herd, impelled by animal instincts, and determined by heredity and environment. Such beings were portrayed as virtually devoid of originality, individuality, initiative, and sustained self-assertion. They were regarded as listless and suffering rather than as actively engaged in carving out their destinies. In contrast with such views Wassermann again and again emphasized the mysterious, imponderable, inexplicable, devious, highly differentiated and individualized aspects of personality.

Numerous direct pronouncements by Wassermann bear out his strong conviction that human nature is complex, incalculable, and intangible, and that human conduct consequently is bound to seem contradictory and unpredictable. Thus, in attempting to ascertain the motives for Luise Dercum's singular conduct, he says that in the last analysis beings like her are unfathomable and incalculable.<sup>2</sup> He regards Baron von Andergast as so strange, so inscrutable and inaccessible, that language no longer serves as a means of communication with him.<sup>3</sup> In *Christoph Columbus* Wassermann refers again and again to the mysteriousness, complexity, and ambiguity of Columbus' unintelligible being.<sup>4</sup> The human soul, says he, in commenting on the discoverer of America, is a dark labyrinth, inhabited by terrifying specters;<sup>5</sup> the very association with other people necessitates constant revision of one's judgments of them.<sup>6</sup> Emin Pascha in *Bula Matari* is characterized as impenetrable in word, deed, and

(Groningen: Wolthers, 1935), II, 269 f.: "Seine Menschen sind unverständlich, irrational, werden von inneren Bedrängnissen und Trieben vorwärtsgetrieben. Sie sind nicht der Natur nachgezeichnet, sondern aus einer barocken, zum Sonderbaren und Krankhaften neigenden Phantasie geschaffen."

Adolf Bartels, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. Kleine Ausgabe (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1936), p. 653: "Etwas Schemenhaftes und zugleich Karikiertes behalten alle seine Menschen für uns."

Jethro Bithell, *Modern German Literature 1880-1938* (London: Methuen, 1939), p. 337: "*Bula Matari* (1932) and *Christoph Columbus* (1929) mark the culmination of Wassermann's morbid skill in the delineation of strange characters."

<sup>2</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1925), p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1928), p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Christoph Columbus* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1929), pp. 10, 60, 63, 86.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

motive.<sup>7</sup> In the same biography David Livingstone is described as a complex, unapproachable, unintelligible being.<sup>8</sup> Of Marie Kerkhoven's daughter Aleid, Wassermann writes that one could never fathom her emotions.<sup>9</sup> In his *Selbstbetrachtungen* the author states that even in daily life every human being presents a riddle which we are ever called upon to solve anew on the basis of his actions and by comparison with other people.<sup>10</sup>

In view of the large number of such direct comments by Wassermann it is not surprising that his characters make similar pronouncements. Of these, too, only a few can be cited here as evidence, although their number might likewise be multiplied with ease. In *Das Gänsemännchen* Gertrud Jordan's life is regarded by her father as impenetrable;<sup>11</sup> to Daniel Nothafft, Lenore Jordan seems mysterious;<sup>12</sup> Lenore does not understand Daniel;<sup>13</sup> Philippine Schimmelweis is incomprehensible to Daniel.<sup>14</sup> In *Christian Wahnschaffe* Prince Wiguniewski says that Christian has always been too lacking in transparency for him.<sup>15</sup> Kerkhoven, in *Etzel Andergast*, finds Irlen as different from all other men as mammals are from insects;<sup>16</sup> conversely, Irlen has difficulty in fathoming Kerkhoven.<sup>17</sup> In the same novel Etzel concludes that at bottom no character can be judged,<sup>18</sup> and Aleid is filled with terror at the incalculability of people.<sup>19</sup> Stanley is profoundly impressed with the hidden, ambiguous nature of Livingstone.<sup>20</sup> For Bettina, in *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, Ganna Herzog is the most incomprehensible being under the sun.<sup>21</sup> "Das Du ist ewiges Mysterium" is the concluding line of a poem by Herzog in this same novel.<sup>22</sup>

This inability to understand one's fellow-beings extends even to members of families. From numerous examples, only a few can be cited here. In *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren* Ursanner states that for a third person the married life of a couple is about the most mysterious thing on earth, for, after all, what do husband and wife know of each other?<sup>23</sup> Jordan, in *Das Gänsemännchen*, says of his children:

<sup>7</sup> *Bula Matari, Das Leben Stanleys* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1932), p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 94.

<sup>9</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1934), p. 593.

<sup>10</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1933), p. 24.

<sup>11</sup> *Das Gänsemännchen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1930), p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 470.

<sup>15</sup> *Christian Wahnschaffe* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1922), I, 335.

<sup>16</sup> *Etzel Andergast* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1931), p. 49.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 369.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 539.

<sup>20</sup> *Bula Matari*, p. 94.

<sup>21</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 326.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.

<sup>23</sup> *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren*, in *Die Lebensalter* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1910), p. 336.

"Each is in his own room, and I know nothing about any one of them."<sup>24</sup> He finds his daughter Gertrud particularly unintelligible and unapproachable, and is unable to discover what elements constitute her inner being.<sup>25</sup> One morning at breakfast Christian Wahnschaffe notes with surprise how foreign his father is to him;<sup>26</sup> very shortly afterward he has the same feeling about his reserved, impenetrable mother whom he seems to know less well than the dress she wears.<sup>27</sup> Frau Landgraf, in *Oberlins drei Stufen*, says of her daughters that they are like two branches that grow from a tree in opposite directions, two branches which she is unable to span. They have such different traits that she often feels she must probe into past generations to find anything her daughters may have in common.<sup>28</sup> Etzel Andergast, in *Der Fall Maurizius*, likens his father to a tower that has no entrance, no doors, and no windows, a tower of enormous height, filled from top to bottom with mysteries.<sup>29</sup> His father seems to be clad in impenetrable armor, he is unapproachable, foreign, and so far removed that language fails to serve as a means of communication.<sup>30</sup>

But in no other work by Wassermann are the complex, unfathomable relations of members of families stressed as strongly as in *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, his last novel. After years of married life, Kerkhoven is filled with wonder and amazement at the sudden, overpowering passion of a union with his wife. Wassermann comments on this astonishment by stating that love can transform a woman to a degree quite beyond the comprehension of the most devoted man.<sup>31</sup> In the same novel Herzog says of his wife Ganna that it is just as futile to attempt to stay her arm and to change the direction of her activity as it is to request a hurricane to change its course.<sup>32</sup> In his efforts to sound her he realizes that she cannot be judged by single acts, for she is a primitively unrestrained being.<sup>33</sup> Facts and experiences simply do not exist, so far as she is concerned; she follows the impulse of the moment, though the effect be that of an internal short circuit.<sup>34</sup> Ganna is quite irrational, he concludes, she cannot be reached by persuasion, she cannot be changed, and there is no bridge between her and the world.<sup>35</sup> Marie Kerkhoven and her daughter, other characters of this novel, are

<sup>24</sup> *Das Gänsemännchen*, p. 149.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup> *Christian Wahnschaffe*, I, 129 f.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 132.

<sup>28</sup> *Oberlins drei Stufen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1928), p. 189.

<sup>29</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, p. 34.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>31</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 99.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 281.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

strangers at heart. Aleid says to her mother: "If only I knew what you are; everything about you is a riddle to me, your marriage, your being, and your life."<sup>36</sup> Similarly, Marie can never fathom her daughter's feelings, for Aleid seems like an eel that slips away from every attempt to grasp her.<sup>37</sup>

This conviction of the mysteriousness and complexity of human nature manifests itself in various ways in Wassermann's narratives. Characters sometimes are baffling and ambiguous because they are revealed bit by bit through incident and situation rather than by detailed, direct description when they are first introduced. Sometimes Wassermann sketches characters with a certain vagueness that suggests mystery. This is true of Renate Fuchs, and to a slighter degree of Myra in *Der niegekübte Mund*. Renate is baffling because her ignorance of life and of herself, and her vaguely sensed desires make her conduct difficult to predict. Impressionable and responding readily to suggestion, she seems to pass through life like a somnambulist. Much of her conduct and experience is presented by implication rather than in concrete detail.

The impression of the unfathomability of characters is heightened by the harassing cross-questioning to which one personage subjects another in an attempt to probe more deeply into his being. In *Melusine* Mely is interrogated again and again by Vidl Falk; Caspar Hauser suffers no end of examination; Christian Wahnschaffe questions Karen and Niels Engelschall; Amadeus Voß endeavors to worm admissions from Johanna Schöntag; Dietrich Oberlin probes into the life of deceased Cäcilie Landgraf by insistently quizzing her sister Hanna; Ulrike Woytich tries to extract secrets from miserly Mylius; Faber interrogates Fides; Etzel is intent upon fathoming Waremmes secretive being; and Dr. Kerkhoven, the psychiatrist, is constantly delving into the devious, hidden past of his patients. The difficulty of such probing is emphasized by Christian Wahnschaffe, who says to Ruth Hofmann that he had always fancied he might be content if he succeeded in exploring one single being; but, he adds, it is like attempting to fathom the sea.<sup>38</sup>

Wassermann's fondness for complex, inscrutable personages is manifested even more strongly in direct portrayal of characters against a singular background. Two examples may suffice here. The disharmony of Arrhidäos, the epileptic half-brother of the hero of *Alexander in Babylon*, is strongly emphasized; now gloomy, now exuberant, he is quite incomprehensible. He dreams of the unknown and unattainable; he is irresolute, vacillating, capricious, and enigmatic. This impression of strangeness is heightened by Wasser-

<sup>36</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 522.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593.

<sup>38</sup> *Christian Wahnschaffe*, II, 170.



mann's picture of the Oriental background of the novel. In the weird Orient every bond of affection is loosed, faith is undermined, divine symbols become empty signs, the unexpected happens at any moment, suspicion and insidious intrigue are prompted by jealousy and secret rivalry, old, familiar things disappear or lose significance, men become incalculable and their acts unpredictable. In *Caspar Hauser* Wassermann was fascinated by the unusual situation of a youth of seventeen who had known no childhood, who, after years of solitary confinement, arrived in the world of men with the mental age of little more than a toddling infant, and who in a very short period of time passed through the stages of a child's mental development, emotional disturbances, and adolescence into early manhood. Wassermann took delight in viewing Caspar as the only being of his kind, isolated in the world of men, singular, and utterly dependent on the favor or disfavor of men.

Wassermann was convinced that human character is complex because life itself is so strange. Thus in *Der goldene Spiegel* Cajetan says that the world is filled to the brim with strange happenings, and the strangest of these becomes true when one looks into a living face.<sup>39</sup> In the same volume Franziska exclaims that reality transcends all fiction; her friend Borsati is also of this opinion, and adds that reality cannot be portrayed, it cannot be grasped, and it becomes fiction as soon as one tries to lend it meaning and significance.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Konstanze Altacher says in *Laudin und die Seinen* that the complications of life exceed the fancifulness of fiction.<sup>41</sup> Kerkhoven, the psychiatrist and neurologist, asserts that nature herself seems to make life loom up as mysterious, for although she allows man an occasional glimpse into her workshop, she bars the windows as soon as she suspects man of prying into her secrets.<sup>42</sup>

Kerkhoven doubtless expresses Wassermann's own thoughts on the futility of speculation about what distinguishes one character fundamentally from another. The former suggests that his own conduct might have been different, if his nose had been two millimeters longer or shorter, or if he had had but one central fiber more or less in the gangliar system of his brain. "Who," he exclaims, "can know!"<sup>43</sup>

Wasserman was convinced not merely that there are areas of the human soul which others cannot fathom, but that man does not even know himself. Thus Lamberg, in *Der goldene Spiegel*, says it is difficult for man to estimate his own capacities because the power of

<sup>39</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1919), p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>41</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 134.

<sup>42</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, pp. 459 f.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 515.



self-deception is infinite.<sup>44</sup> And Laudin asks: "Who am I really, and what am I?"<sup>45</sup> Regardless of whether his deeds were good or evil, Columbus, says Wassermann, never knew what he was doing.<sup>46</sup> Kerkhoven concludes that man's capacities are far greater than he himself realizes.<sup>47</sup> In his *Selbstbetrachtungen* Wassermann writes:

When a man stands before a mirror, a stranger looks at him, and asks: Do you recognize yourself? In the last analysis you are but your own dream. Every attempt to behold yourself miscarries because of the immutability of the ego, and every attempt to know yourself fails because of the uncertainty about self. Moreover, the character of others becomes but a reflection of one's own being.<sup>48</sup>

According to Wassermann, complexity of character is not limited to individuals of wider opportunity and experience. In *Der goldene Spiegel* Borsati maintains that those characters whom we superficially call simple are in fact complicated and unfathomable; the so-called plain man is closer to fate, and stands helpless before the hidden forces and instincts of his own nature.<sup>49</sup> One of the conclusions voiced by the stranger in *Der unbekannte Gast* is that at bottom all men are foreign to each other, for no one really knows his fellows; there are innumerable patterns of life, and even among the drudging toilers who carry heavy burdens on bended backs no two have the same thoughts.<sup>50</sup> For young Etzel in *Der Fall Maurizius* every person, even the lowliest and most boresome, has something hidden and impalpable.<sup>51</sup>

Wassermann believed there are areas of the soul which cannot be explored, but now and then, as if by a sudden flash, traits hitherto unknown or unnoticed, are revealed. It is then that the necessity for revising judgments about one's fellows becomes imperative. In the introductory paragraph of *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren* Wassermann writes that there are stars which, for no fathomable reason, lose their light and disappear into the darkness of infinite space either for a short time or forever; similarly, there are human beings whose destiny at a given time takes them into twilight and darkness.<sup>52</sup> This applies to Sylvester von Erfft in whom the bonds of inhibition are precipitously burst by unconsciously suppressed desire. Like Schnitzler, Wassermann occasionally presented characters who have lived side by side for years, taking each other for granted, yet without really knowing each other. But some day a word or deed reveals

<sup>44</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, p. 158.

<sup>45</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 103.

<sup>46</sup> *Christoph Columbus*, p. 190.

<sup>47</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 69.

<sup>48</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, p. 24.

<sup>49</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, p. 53.

<sup>50</sup> *Der unbekannte Gast* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1920), p. 40.

<sup>51</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, p. 47.

<sup>52</sup> *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren*, p. 303.

traits and attitudes hitherto unknown, yet of deep significance. This is true not merely of Sylvester von Erfft in his relations with Agathe, but also of Laudin, whose torrent of words in comment on Brigitte Hartmann's denunciatory letter gives his wife Pia pause. She begins to wonder: "What kind of man is this who is speaking such words? Do I know him? Do I still know him? Or can it be that I no longer know him?"<sup>53</sup>

It is not surprising that Wassermann repeatedly stressed enigmatic, irrational elements in human behavior and relationships. Thus Daniel Nothafft suddenly has an intimation that grotesque Philippine Schimmelweis is linked to him by bonds which seem to pass through all the darkness of subterranean labyrinths before they reach him.<sup>54</sup> Columbus, writes Wassermann, was so utterly illogical and irrational that Queen Isabella found him impervious to reasoned arguments;<sup>55</sup> he had never been open to logical considerations, and it never occurred to him to think in terms of reality and possibility.<sup>56</sup> Kerkhoven finds Herzog abandoned to his instincts to an extraordinary degree, and consequently mysteriously irrational.<sup>57</sup> His wife Ganna is even more so, as Herzog realizes to his sorrow.<sup>58</sup>

Immoral and amoral characters portrayed by Wassermann are likely to seem complex and irrational because they so frequently abandon themselves to their instincts. Lamberg, in *Der goldene Spiegel*, accounts for a certain surprising type of immorality by stating that men whose ambition is greater than their endowment are bound to become depraved.<sup>59</sup> Etzel Andergast characterizes Nell Marshall by saying that she is by no means bad, but that she is incapable of distinguishing between the genuine and the false, the sacred and the profane, the truth and falsehood; this, he adds, is more dangerous and disastrous than if she were avowedly wicked.<sup>60</sup> It must be borne in mind, however, that amorality can exist only in natures that are elemental and primitive, not in those whose experience and training have made them aware of obligation, of duty, and of their influence on others. Abandoned to her instincts, for example, as Ganna Herzog is, with apparently no capacity to reflect on the significance of her acts, she is amoral, and the satisfaction of her impulses destroys her soul.<sup>61</sup>

Unscrupulous conduct makes some of Wassermann's characters unintelligible to those of decent instincts. This is particularly true of

<sup>53</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 185.

<sup>54</sup> *Das Gänsemännchen*, p. 322.

<sup>55</sup> *Christoph Columbus*, p. 67.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>57</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 195.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

<sup>59</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, p. 54.

<sup>60</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 521.

<sup>61</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 297.

Amadeus Voß and Eva Sorel in *Christian Wahnschaffe*, of Professor Landgraf in *Oberlins drei Stufen*, of Ulrike Woytich, of Luise Dercum in *Laudin und die Seinen*, of Waremmé in *Der Fall Maurizius*, and Ganna Herzog in *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*. Such characters are so warped by desire, covetousness, or selfishness, that judgments based on ethical considerations do not seem applicable to them.

Wassermann frequently regarded incalculability of conduct as rooted in dual personality which, under certain conditions, may permit a character to do one thing just as well as the opposite. Thus in *Der goldene Spiegel* Borsati says that most people are empty vessels which under certain circumstances can be filled with the basest greed or with fiery zeal for a great cause.<sup>62</sup> In the foreword to *Deutsche Charaktere und Begebenheiten* Wassermann maintains that nobody can be more petty, shallow, and devoid of light than the German when he is dominated by the drab humdrum of everyday routine; but no one can be greater when inexorable necessity confronts him, or when great, stirring events inspire him.<sup>63</sup> Waremmé, in *Der Fall Maurizius*, says to Etzel that Shakespeare might just as well have become an ingenious robber à la Robin Hood as a dramatist, Lenin might just as well have become a chief of the Czar's secret police as the destroyer of a system, for our outward activity depends upon a profound dualism that is implanted in us like the sense of left and right.<sup>64</sup> True to his suspicious nature as prosecuting attorney, Baron von Andergast is of the opinion that every man, even the most irreproachable and the most unassailable, has a recess in his soul in which the germs of crime are lodged.<sup>65</sup> His son says, in *Etzel Andergast*, that to define a being categorically is the most difficult thing there is, since a man can at one and the same time be a herald and a denier, a bearer of the cross and a Judas.<sup>66</sup> Kerkhoven, the searching student of the human soul, declares likewise that everyone is at any moment equally capable of good or evil.<sup>67</sup>

One of the perplexing questions which Wassermann pondered was that of transformation of character and change of identity. It is raised for the first time in *Laudin und die Seinen* by Laudin, who desires to escape from troublesome, defective reality:

What is this thing called character, this diffuse combination of traits which constitute a human being? How burdensome and how terrifying it is to be the self-same individual throughout a lifetime, to be compelled to react to the same causes in the same way day in and day out! It sounds like a jail

<sup>62</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, p. 84.

<sup>63</sup> *Deutsche Charaktere und Begebenheiten* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1915), I, 19 f.

<sup>64</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, p. 330.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>66</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 405.

<sup>67</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 508.

sentence. You, Friedrich Laudin, are condemned to be such and so for fifty or fifty-five or sixty years, sentenced to a certain city, house and activity. But what if a man tires of his ego? What if some day he grows thoroughly and incurably weary of the despotism of his own character, of this conglomeration of habits, inclinations, activities, modes of speech and thought?<sup>68</sup>

Laudin feels that, like other professional men, he is pursuing a course which he cannot leave arbitrarily, and that he is moving toward a goal which he can no longer determine. Volition is mere delusion; there is nothing but compulsion.<sup>69</sup> He wonders whether it is impossible to cast off the old, weary, worn-out man and become new.<sup>70</sup> As Laudin looks back on his past, he can no longer remember just when the longing arose in him to be what he is not. But the emotional experience that gave rise to the desire is ever before him: boredom with his own being, with that steely, immutable, abiding something known as character. A spirit of revolt against such enslavement rises within him; a desire to be transformed dominates his thoughts and his dreams.<sup>71</sup>

Somewhat similarly, Etzel asks Kerkhoven whether a character can ever be fully understood, whether character or what we call character actually exists, and whether one can change a man.<sup>72</sup> And Kerkhoven wonders wherein the alleged continuity of identity resides, since the body is so completely renewed in a period of fourteen years that not a single fiber remains. It seems to him that only the wall of the body keeps all that is in flux from ebbing away entirely, and even this wall is not much firmer than the shadow it casts; it is a membrane which has to defend itself vigorously against the pressure of the ebbing stream.<sup>73</sup> In his *Selbstbetrachtungen* Wassermann asserts that no man can escape from his character, and that metamorphosis of being is merely a poetic necessity which belongs strictly to the realm of ideas.<sup>74</sup> Kerkhoven, says Wassermann elsewhere, was bound to know that man is impotent when it comes to combating his own character.<sup>75</sup> And Herzog, who suffers from the weakness of his character, feels only too clearly and painfully the impossibility of changing it.<sup>76</sup>

But although Wassermann was convinced that character as such is virtually immutable, he asserted that there are new contacts which may exert a determining influence on the life of the individual. They may give life a new direction and new content without, however,

<sup>68</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 66.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>72</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 308.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257 f.

<sup>74</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, p. 66.

<sup>75</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 156.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

entailing fundamental change of character or identity. They serve to call out dormant traits or possibilities which have never before had full chance of realization. Inner changes, says Wassermann, in *Etzel Andergast*, do not come about suddenly and unprepared. As a rule, they represent a slow process that takes place without our knowledge and without our coöperation. Various streams are joined, and some occurrence, which need have no direct connection, aids in bringing about that state of painful receptivity without which life becomes a mere mechanism.<sup>77</sup> In his *Selbstbetrachtungen* the author reverts to this question, saying that all change requires such long periods of time that the various stages are not observable and demonstrable.<sup>78</sup>

"Das Gesetz der Begegnung" is a phrase which Wassermann used repeatedly in referring to new acquaintanceships which may give a vital impulsion to life by stimulating latent qualities. In *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* he stated that there are meetings which at first seem commonplace, but which loom up larger and more significantly in time.<sup>79</sup> This idea gradually assumed greater importance in Wassermann's thinking, for in *Etzel Andergast* he wrote:

One of the fundamental laws to which human lives are subject is the law of new contacts. In this law the mysterious will of higher powers which we call destiny becomes manifest. We have seen how Joseph Kerkhoven had to meet Irlen in order to discover his own mission, and to find a wife without whom his soul would presumably have remained cramped. We shall see how at a most critical moment of his life Etzel Andergast . . . had to meet this very Joseph Kerkhoven and no one else because the latter alone had the power and the gift to raise Etzel out of confusion and out of hopeless darkness.<sup>80</sup>

The significance which Wassermann attached to this idea can be gauged from the fact that he himself quoted part of it in his *Selbstbetrachtungen* in connection with the impress of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's friendship on his artistic development.<sup>81</sup>

Joseph Kerkhoven says there are meetings which renew men.<sup>82</sup> Commenting directly in *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, Wassermann declared it is a peculiarity of human beings that they need a new contact, if renewal is to take place; they tend to wear each other smooth, and they grow indolent in the intimacy of pleasant association.<sup>83</sup> Even so simple a drudge as Janach is lifted out of the dull lethargy of her routine experience at the sight of a woman to whom she becomes abjectly devoted. Her subsequent desire to do something unprecedented for her idol was an impulse, says Wassermann, a de-

<sup>77</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, pp. 277 f.

<sup>78</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, pp. 73 f.

<sup>79</sup> *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1922), p. 113.

<sup>80</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 255.

<sup>81</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, p. 31.

<sup>82</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 99.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 567.

sire whose mystery was deeper than all thinking; no one, he adds, knows enough about human nature to fathom this.<sup>84</sup>

Occasionally Wassermann touched on the problem of freedom of the will in its relation to human behavior. It has already been noted that Laudin, who feels enslaved to his identity, concludes that he is embarked on a course from which he is powerless to deviate, and that he is moving toward a goal which he can no longer determine.<sup>85</sup> Kerkhoven, who at times seems to utter Wassermann's views, says to Mordann that man stands halfway between freedom and fate; his problem is to determine how much freedom he will fight for, and how much destiny he is willing to accept.<sup>86</sup> Kerkhoven has days when everything he does seems condemned to futility, when the ship of life seems buffeted about beyond man's power to guide it, and when time and the world seem uncanny elements to which man can make no enduring adjustment. His sick, confused patients are like so many guilty victims, sentenced by fate to pursue a course which they cannot leave, but where cause and effect are inexorably linked.

Yet Wassermann occasionally pointed to a critical moment in the lives of men when a decision may determine the future tenor of their existence. In *Ulrike Woytich* he states that every man at some time stands at an inner crossroad where he must make an irrevocable decision.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, we read in *Laudin und die Seinen* that for a single moment in every life God is present and speaks to us; if we do not understand his beckoning and his warning, our decisions are devoid of grace, and we no longer have the right to complain of our destiny. Every choice must be made with the profound consciousness of responsibility; and what is responsibility other than the answer we give to the questioning of the infinite being that permeates us?<sup>88</sup> In much the same vein Waremme tells Etzel that there is a moment in every life when man may develop according to the polar opposites of his nature.<sup>89</sup> In *Etzel Andergast* Wassermann again commented directly on this theme, asserting that it is instructive to observe the warnings fate occasionally issues to men. As if to threaten them, or as if touched by pity, fate seems surreptitiously to hint that men still have time to take precautions and to protect themselves. They are merely being nudged a bit by fate, and if they fail to take heed, it is their fault.<sup>90</sup>

Wassermann liked to portray the strange fascination which some characters have for others. At times a mysterious influence like a

<sup>84</sup> *Die Janach*, in *Tagebuch aus dem Winkel* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1935), pp. 70 f.

<sup>85</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 124.

<sup>86</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 119.

<sup>87</sup> *Ulrike Woytich* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1924), p. 126.

<sup>88</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 164.

<sup>89</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, p. 330.

<sup>90</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 315.

magnetic current seems to emanate from them. When Franziska meets Ricardo Troyer in *Der goldene Spiegel*, some of those present sense the electric tension between them; she feels as if carried away and enveloped by an irresistible force which defies all analysis.<sup>91</sup> Botho von Thüngen tells Christian Wahnschaffe that for a long time he was quite unable to speak about the mysterious, inexplicable, magnetic attraction that drew him to the latter.<sup>92</sup> When Christian enters an eating-house for the poor, the effect of his presence momentarily pulsates through the hall; it is felt by all, but in particular by mystically susceptible Ruth Hofmann, who feels the emanation of a force that all but overwhelms her.<sup>93</sup> The judge in *Adam Urbas* claims that he has often experienced the transfer of unusual states of mind or soul.<sup>94</sup> In *Golovin* Marie von Krüdener confronts drunken soldiers who recoil as if a magic power were emanating from her; she herself believes that such a hidden force dwells within her.<sup>95</sup> Justus Richter, in *Oberlins drei Stufen*, remarks that there are human beings who gain influence over the souls of others suddenly, like magnetic currents in the air; the relations between living creatures, as well as between them and what we regard as dead matter, are far more mysterious than we assume, and such relations are more profound than science and speculation.<sup>96</sup>

Leonhart Maurizius tells Baron von Andergast that as a young man he had come completely under the influence of Waremmé; it was like utter bondage, for he saw with Waremmé's eyes, he spoke with Waremmé's words, he judged and reacted like him. As long as they were in the same room, Maurizius was as in a daze and quite helpless.<sup>97</sup> When Waremmé centered his thoughts firmly on Anna Jahn, she came directly under his influence, and became dependent on his will.<sup>98</sup>

Ernst Bergmann and Irlen, in *Etzel Andergast*, agree that a magic influence emanates from Kerkhoven.<sup>99</sup> Yet when the latter calms a raving maniac, Etzel has the impression that Kerkhoven is but the instrument of a power that dominates him.<sup>100</sup> In *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz* Bettina Herzog is unusually sensitive to the influence of certain persons; she struggles with a tense, uncomfortable feeling whenever she is in a room with a human being from whom a certain atmospheric, physical, or mental force radiates.<sup>101</sup> At their

<sup>91</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, pp. 232 f.

<sup>92</sup> *Christian Wahnschaffe*, II, 97.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 168 f.

<sup>94</sup> *Der unbekannte Gast*, p. 69.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>96</sup> *Oberlins drei Stufen*, p. 133.

<sup>97</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, pp. 408 f.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>99</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 88.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

<sup>101</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 169.



first meeting, without any exchange of words, a mysterious understanding arises between Marie Kerkhoven and Herzog, as if one of them had long encircled the other in infinite space until the law of mutual attraction compelled physical proximity.<sup>102</sup> To Herzog it seems as if light and a mysterious force emanate from Kerkhoven's inner being; it reminds him of the warmth of volcanic soil, or of the warm bark of a tree that continues to send out radiation even long after the sun has ceased to shine on it.<sup>103</sup>

But Wassermann was well aware that under the spell of sex and the charm of beauty men may attribute to women mysterious, indefinable traits which finally prove to be mere caprice. Thus under the influence of sex attraction Laudin regards Luise Dercum as a most unusual, fascinating being; yet her alleged incalculability turns out to be unscrupulousness which defies all morals and all sense of responsibility. But the most striking example of this kind is to be found in *Der Fall Maurizius*. Here Waremmé tells Etzel that the intricate pattern of Anna Jahn's soul defies analysis, her character is incomprehensible, and she is a complex being, full of contradictions. In a rhetorically extravagant description Waremmé adds that Anna is fiercely pagan and a foolish bigot, haughty but prone to undervalue herself, chaste as an altar picture and aflame with a mystic, primitive sensuousness, stern yet longing for tenderness, locked up within herself and yet hating those who would burst her bondage as well as those who respect her reserve.<sup>104</sup> But when Leonhart Maurizius sees Anna again after his long years of imprisonment, all this fascination proves to have been idle illusion. For with the vanishing of her youthful charm and beauty, time had taken from her all that had passed for soul, mystery, passion, and depth.

As might be expected, Wassermann's fondness for delving into the mysteries of the subconscious is manifest in his frequent narration of dreams. In *Sara Malcolm* he states that the decisive experiences of human life are not enacted in the world of the concrete and the tangible; the profoundest things to which the souls of mortals are attached are haze and dreams.<sup>105</sup> Cajetan, in *Der goldene Spiegel*, maintains that there are real experiences which are almost like dreams.<sup>106</sup> Lamberg, who agrees with him, adds that most happenings in this world partake of the nature of dreams. One need never recall dreams, and yet one is full of them, says he; indeed, what we call soul is perhaps merely the play of dreams within us, and the thinner the wall is that separates man from his dreams, the more

<sup>102</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, p. 532.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 618.

<sup>104</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, pp. 526 f.

<sup>105</sup> *Sara Malcolm*, in *Historische Erzählungen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1924), p. 253.

<sup>106</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, p. 101.



soulful man becomes.<sup>107</sup> In *Laudin und die Seinen* Wassermann stated that outward activity is related to inner being, but the latter is a black river whose shores are shrouded in darkness. Occasionally a flaming bullet rises above it; occasionally a terrifying movement is wafted over it, and one merges with the other. Perhaps this gives rise merely to a dream, perhaps even to a decision; or may not decisions be the result of dreams, and the fear of decisions be the fear of a dream which we cannot recall or which has not yet matured? The soul often works as long on its dream as the mind does on its ideas.<sup>108</sup>

In view of Wassermann's marked predilection for narrating dreams as a clue to character and aspirations, it should be noted that at the end of his last novel he allows Kerkhoven to deny the value of analyzing them. Having become well aware of man's limitations in exploring psychic phenomena, he says to Herzog, who has recounted four dreams:

Let us not concern ourselves now with interpreting them. That is far too dangerous a thing. There is too much quack wisdom in their interpretation. No man, whether he be learned or untutored, can follow a dream back to its origins, and those who fancy they can do so have no conception of its origins.<sup>109</sup>

His fondness for the mysterious aspects of human character and experience prompted Wassermann to flirt with the notion that a wish may prompt death or a mishap. Thus in *Die Juden von Zirndorf* both Agathon Geyer and his father believe that their fervent desire brought about the death of their oppressor Sürich Sperling.<sup>110</sup> In *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren* jealous Sylvester von Erfft's wish that Viscount Darrington fall in a horse-race is a veritable inner command. When the rider does fall, Sylvester shudders at the thought that such a thing is possible.<sup>111</sup> In his last novel Wassermann again reverts to this notion. Here Jeanne Mallery torments herself with the thought that she has committed murder through desire. Kerkhoven explains to her that "Wunscharm" or "Phantasiemord" is rooted in old popular superstition, in dark belief in witchcraft.<sup>112</sup> It is as if Wassermann had finally come to grips with this belief and had convinced himself that it is erroneous.

In keeping with his insistence on the mysterious complexity and incomprehensibility of human nature, Wassermann again and again claimed to be ignorant of the motives that prompt his characters.

<sup>107</sup> *Der goldene Spiegel*, pp. 102 f.

<sup>108</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, pp. 43 f.

<sup>109</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, pp. 637 f.

<sup>110</sup> *Die Juden von Zirndorf*, in *Fränkische Erzählungen* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1925), pp. 153, 210.

<sup>111</sup> *Der Mann von vierzig Jahren*, pp. 370 f.

<sup>112</sup> *Joseph Kerkhovens dritte Existenz*, pp. 506 f.

This practice began as far back as 1897 with *Die Schaffnerin*,<sup>113</sup> and later became more and more pronounced. In *Die Geschichte der jungen Renate Fuchs* the author speculates on the reasons for Wanderer's falsehoods about his finances, saying: "Perhaps he believed that friends would help him, perhaps he had faith in friends, God knows what he imagined."<sup>114</sup> Instead of making a definite assertion about the motives for Erwin Reiner's conduct Wassermann asks: "Was it willed, planned or calculated? But there must have been something elemental, something instinctive, some ardor hidden in it."<sup>115</sup> Of Laudin, Wassermann writes: "He looks like a superior, calm, well-meaning, good-natured and rather witty man. But what is he really like? What is he really?"<sup>116</sup> Similarly, the author hazards a guess about what underlies Pia's thoughts and moods.<sup>117</sup> He says of Luise Dercum that it is difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend her contradictory behavior. In *Ulrike Woytich* Wassermann now and then addresses his readers directly, as if they were joint observers and were engaged in the common task of deciphering character.<sup>118</sup> And in *Der Fall Maurizius* Wassermann asserts that it would be futile to try to disclose the complicated chain of thought which prompted Etzel to disturb his grandmother's peace of mind.<sup>119</sup> He wonders why, on a certain occasion, Etzel is in such good humor;<sup>120</sup> he states that it is not quite clear why Baron von Andergast enters a room at a specific moment;<sup>121</sup> he endeavors to guess why Andergast goes to the penitentiary to see Maurizius;<sup>122</sup> at certain junctures he claims it is not easy to determine what goes on in Maurizius' mind, and what his emotions are.<sup>123</sup>

Wassermann claims he is unable to say how Nina Belotti found out about Kerkhoven's associations with Marie Bergmann.<sup>124</sup> He admits that he may be misjudging Kerkhoven;<sup>125</sup> he wonders where Etzel obtained all his information and his varied experiences;<sup>126</sup> he declares himself unable to determine how Kerkhoven subdued a maniac;<sup>127</sup> he confesses his inability to explain why Nina does not

<sup>113</sup> *Die Schaffnerin*, in *Fränkische Erzählungen*, p. 300.

<sup>114</sup> *Die Geschichte der jungen Renate Fuchs* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1925), p. 146.

<sup>115</sup> *Erwin Reiner*, in *Die Lebensalter*, p. 149.

<sup>116</sup> *Laudin und die Seinen*, p. 45.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>118</sup> *Ulrike Woytich*, pp. 30 f., 67, 215.

<sup>119</sup> *Der Fall Maurizius*, pp. 52 f.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 486.

<sup>124</sup> *Etzel Andergast*, p. 106.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313 f.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 388.

talk frankly with her husband;<sup>128</sup> he admits it is strange that Kerkhoven, who devotes himself with abandon to others, neglects his wife Marie, and he adds that this is a secret which he cannot fathom.<sup>129</sup>

Examples of the above kind might be multiplied almost indefinitely from Wassermann's early, middle, and later writings. Such devices serve to place responsibility on the reader for interpreting unusual manifestations of character. The author indulges in conjectures about the motives of his personages as if to demonstrate that he himself is forced to speculate on what goes on in their hearts and minds.

In "Zur Charakteristik meiner Arbeits-Methode" Wassermann wrote that often a long period elapses before one of his principal characters finally seems to take on a life of his own that carries the novel along.<sup>130</sup> Once a character assumes such proportions he approaches what Wassermann called "Gestalt." In his *Selbstbetrachtungen* he defined "Gestalt" as that highly individualized, delimited figure or person whom an author makes the bearer of a certain conception of the world, of a definite destiny and character. According to Wassermann, "Gestalt" always implies something mysterious over and above its actual assertions, and the more mystery it embodies as the result of contradictory traits, the more it stimulates the reader's imagination. He regarded it as the synthesis of all the real possibilities of a character, the sum total of which must produce a true semblance of being that culminates in a vision.<sup>131</sup>

In defense of his conception of human character Wassermann wrote:

The so-called serious-minded man does not know or does not want to know that there never has been and can be no poet of distinction who is a stranger to life; the imagination and vision of the genuine poet embrace and visualize the world and mankind more reliably and more clearly than the eyes of a hundred men of practical experience and of a hundred purposeful investigators. For the poet, the world and mankind constitute an idea and an innate image, and the wonders of the imagination can be outdone by no concrete reality.<sup>132</sup>

Wassermann insisted that what race and blood make of us is unfathomable.<sup>133</sup> The poet must be endowed with a vision akin to second sight if he is to comprehend human nature. For, says Joseph Kerkhoven to Etzel's mother: "Man is an unspeakably mysterious being; without the gift of divination he remains a closed book."<sup>134</sup>

It now becomes apparent that much of the alleged exaggeration, contradictoriness, discordance, and grotesqueness of Wassermann's

<sup>128</sup> Etzel Andergast, p. 108.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578.

<sup>130</sup> "Zur Charakteristik meiner Arbeits-Methode," in *Lebensdienst* (Leipzig: Grethlein and Co., 1928), p. 331.

<sup>131</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, p. 21.

<sup>132</sup> "Antisemitismus und Rassenfrage," in *Lebensdienst*, p. 149.

<sup>133</sup> *Selbstbetrachtungen*, p. 106.

<sup>134</sup> Etzel Andergast, p. 328.

characters grew out of his conviction of the inherent complexity and infinite variety of human beings. But instead of deliberately striving for melodramatic effect, he was endeavoring to delve into the hidden recesses of man's involved, irrational nature, and to probe more deeply into the mysteries of human conduct and relationships. He used glaring contrasts, striking situations, sensational incidents, violent conflicts between persons, and sudden unforeseen developments as a means of bringing out highly individualized traits of character. It is doubtless because of his strong interest in the baffling, devious, unusual, and somewhat strained aspects of human nature that Wassermann portrayed few major characters whom the more casual observer might expect to encounter in actual life. In his *Christoph Columbus* Wassermann wrote that to avoid egregious error in reproducing a historical personage of high rank, it is necessary to view him with the inner eye and to recreate him through a process of divination.<sup>135</sup> It cannot well be denied that many of his other characters appear to have been so conceived rather than drawn from concrete observation and experience. Because of Wassermann's emphasis on irrational, unpredictable, and incalculable behavior, his characters sometimes appear to be shadowy figments of the author's imagination. They are often seen through his eyes rather than as vigorous beings who exist independently of him. Frequently they fail to impress the reader as creatures of flesh and blood, products of German soil and tradition, at home in a world of concrete reality. Many of them lack the genuine plausibility which Wassermann admired in the varied, lusty figures of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, whom he regarded as characters firmly rooted in English life of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>135</sup> *Christoph Columbus*, p. 157.

## SPANISH BALLADS IN ENGLISH

### PART II, VERSE TECHNIQUE

By GEORGE W. UMPHREY

One hundred and fifty years ago Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, published his *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. A cursory reading of the many articles and books that have since been written on the art of translation might lead one to suppose a wide difference of opinion; a more careful analysis and comparison would indicate a general acceptance of the three principles laid down by Tytler. Their interpretation and relative importance account for the main differences of opinion.

After defining what he means by a good translation, Tytler deduces from his definition three essential principles:

- I. The translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.
- II. The style and the manner of writing should be of the same character as that of the original.
- III. The translation should have all the ease of original composition.

In Part I of this study, "Spanish Ballads in English: Historical Survey,"\* some attempt was made to appraise the work of the best translators; and this appraisal was based mainly on these three rules or principles. The first and third were taken as indisputable criteria; the second principle, more vaguely defined by Tytler and more controversial in nature, was reserved, at least in part, for the special consideration that will now be given to it.

It must be confessed that the four chapters (V-VIII) that discuss the second principle have given little aid in this study of verse technique. Tytler is concerned mainly with literary style and diction in the broadest sense, and has practically nothing to say about verse rhythm and rime; his comments on verse translation have to do mainly with the translation of Greek and Latin poetry, and there is, of course, no reference to the translation of Spanish ballads. The principle as stated gives a wide latitude of interpretation; this and the fact that the translator is limited in his imitation "by the nature and genius of the languages of the original and of the translation" help to explain the great variety in verse technique. Other reasons will appear in the following comments and in the classification of the various types of line and stanza used by the translators.

\* *Modern Language Quarterly*, VI (December, 1945), 479-94.

Certain fundamental differences between Spanish versification and English make difficult the transference of the Spanish ballad form to English, if due attention be given to the two other requisites of a good translation. In traditional English poetry each line has a definite number of metrical feet, composed of two or more syllables, with a more or less definite system of accentuation; in Spanish poetry the type of verse is almost always determined by the number of syllables, with a flexible rhythm in each line. The majority of Spanish words are paroxytones; most English words, especially such as find their way into poetry, are oxytones. Spanish poetry has two distinct kinds of rime, consonantal rime and assonance; only the first is commonly used in English. The result of these differences has been that English translators, instead of attempting to create a new metrical form like that of the *romances*, have usually adopted some form of literary genre most akin to the Spanish originals, the English popular ballad.

The technique that resulted from the imitation of several different verse patterns in English and Scotch balladry is notably varied when compared with the uniform technique of the *romances*.

This uniformity is greater than a casual glance at several collections of Spanish ballads would seem to indicate. The primitive verse was, normally, a sixteen-syllable line, with fixed stresses on the seventh syllable of each hemistich and a single assonance binding all the lines into one unit. This long line was divided later into two octosyllabics, with the same fixed stresses and the same assonance at the end of the even lines. So common has this form become that most people consider the *romance* verse as octosyllabic, in spite of the scholarly protests of those who believe that the normal *romance* line is one of sixteen syllables. As Professor Morley points out in the Introduction of his *Spanish Ballads*, this is not merely a question of typesetting; rather, "the quick rhythm of the short lines makes a different impression on the mind from that of the more stately long ones." Nevertheless, the metrical structure is definitely uniform.

We find much greater variety in the English ballads. The primitive form was, probably, the riming couplet, composed of seven-stress, iambic lines (fourteen syllables), with regular cesural pause after the fourth foot. This *septenary* line broke later into two verses of four and three feet respectively, the second and fourth lines riming, and became the most popular ballad pattern. There are a few ballads in six-stress riming couplets, or the corresponding quatrains of four short lines of three stresses each. There was, too, from early times, the quatrain with four iambics in each of the four lines, sometimes with riming couplets, sometimes with riming words at the end of second and fourth lines. The stanzaic arrangement of the long lines

varies from riming couplets to stanzas of four and six lines. The short lines are usually found in quatrains, also in longer stanzas, with varying rime schemes.

Because of this variety of ballad patterns in English, and because of the attempt of some translators to imitate more closely the structure of the *romances*, we find many metrical forms in the translations. The following classification takes into account the number of syllables as well as the number of stresses in each line.

(1) *Seven-stress lines (fourteen syllables, with variations).*

The seven-stress line, the old septenary that early ballad-makers inherited from late Latin songs, was chosen by Lockhart as the pattern for most of his translations. Out of these lines of seven iambic feet, with cesural pause after the fourth, he made stanzas of two, four, six, and eight verses; usually four, riming *a a b b*. An example of this type could be chosen almost at random from his translations:

They shut the door, my trusty score of friends were left behind;  
I would not hear their whispered fear, no harm was in my mind.  
I greeted Pedro, but he turned, I wot his look was cold;  
His brother from his knee he spurned: 'Stand off, thou Master told!'  
(*The Murder of the Master*, 7th quatrain.)

The selection of this line was a logical one, since the oxytonic nature of English would reduce the usual sixteen-syllable Spanish line to one of fourteen; the cesural pause in the middle of the Spanish line has to be shifted slightly because of the regular iambic movement of the English. To avoid the monotony that would result from excessive regularity, too apparent in the ballad cited, Lockhart sometimes drops the eighth syllable before the cesura, or substitutes a trochee or anapest for an iambic foot. The following quatrain from *The Flight from Granada* shows some of these variations:

There was crying in Granada when the sun was going down,  
Some calling on the Trinity, some calling on Mahoun!  
Here passed away the Koran, there in the Cross was borne,  
And here was heard the Christian bell, and there the Moorish horn . . .

Among the many translations of James Young Gibson we find several in the seven-stress line so popular with Lockhart. Some of them are excessively regular (*Lady Alda's Dream*, *The Enchanted Lady*); usually, however, he avoids monotony by substituting other metrical feet for the iambic, or by omitting the fourth stress, leaving to a lengthened cesura the task of making up for the omission. Other good examples, with skillful variations, might be cited from Sir Edmund Head's *Lady Alda's Dream*, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffin's *Death of Don Rodrigo*, or William Cullen Bryant's *The Death of Aliatar*.



The first stanza of the last-mentioned will serve to show the effective use of trisyllabic substitution and lengthened cesural pause.

'Tis not with gilded sabres that gleam in baldricks blue,  
Nor nodding plumes in caps of Fez, of gay and gaudy hue—  
But, habited in mourning weeds, come marching from afar,  
By four and four, the valiant men who fought with Aliatar.  
All mournfully and slowly the afflicted warriors come,  
To the deep wail of the trumpet, and beat of muffled drum. . . .

(2) *Eight-stress lines, trochaic (fifteen syllables).*

The best example of this pattern is the translation of *La Pérdida de Alhama* by Gibson. In his attempt to imitate more closely the old romance verse, normally sixteen syllables with a primary stress on the seventh syllable of each hemistich, he uses the trochaic measure for the usual iambic. The unstressed eighth syllable is preserved in all but six of the first half lines, but not in the second, for the reason that all the English rimes are single (oxytonic), whereas the assonance of the original is double. The first four lines, omitting the refrain, are as follows:

Paseábase el rey moro—por la ciudad de Granada,  
desde la puerta de Elvira—hasta la de Vivarambla.  
Cartas le fueron venidas—que Alhama era ganada:  
las cartas echó en el fuego,—y al mensajero matara. . . .

Slowly rode the Moorish Monarch through Granada's city great,  
From the bastion of Elvira to the Bibarambla gate.  
Letters brought the fatal tidings, that Alhama had been ta'en;  
In the fire he tossed the letters, bid the messenger be slain. . . .

(3) *Twelve-syllable line (six iambs; or four anapests).*

Scattered through the translations patterned on the fourteen-syllable line are many lines of twelve syllables, usually six iambs with cesural pause in the middle; in some few of them, in Lockhart's *The Enchanted Lady*, for example, this line becomes the pattern, with few variations to break the monotony. More successful is his *Vengeance of Mudarra*, in which the twelve-syllable line is divided into anapests, with a scattering of amphibrachs. The rhythm is not that of the Spanish original and the translation is not very accurate; but so rapid and spirited is the movement that one might wish that he had used it in some of his other translations instead of his favorite seven-stress iambic. The first stanza follows:

To the chase goes Rodrigo, with hound and with hawk;  
But what game he desires is revealed in his talk:  
'Oh, in vain have I slaughtered the Infants of Lara,  
There's an heir in the halls, there's the bastard Mudarra;  
There's the son of the renegade,—spawn of Mahoun—  
If I meet with Mudarra, my spear brings him down.'



(4) *Quatrains of four and three stresses, iambic (eight and six syllables).*

The relation of this quatrain to the riming couplet of seven-stress lines is apparent. What is not so apparent is the subtle difference of rhythm. Just as in the original *romances* the breaking of the sixteen-syllable lines into two octosyllabics, without any change in the number of syllables or in the assonance, results in a more sprightly rhythm, so the English quatrain, although it has the same number of stresses and the same rime, has a more rapid, lilting movement than the corresponding couplet of seven-stress verses. Something of the continuity of the long lines is lost, something of their austerity and dignity; but as proof that the gains more than counterbalance the losses is the fact that the quatrain became the most popular pattern of the English ballad-makers. And so among the translators this metrical type has been favored more than any other. This is particularly true of Gibson, the author of the most extensive and varied collection of Spanish ballads in English. In the eighty-one ballads contained in his *Romancero del Cid*, at least three out of every four follow this pattern:

He comes, he comes, the Moorman comes,  
 Along the sounding way;  
 With stirrup short and pointed spur,  
 He rides his gallant bay. . . .  
 (Gibson, *The Cid and the Moorish King*.)

Similar quatrains, equally regular, may be cited from other translators:

The peasant leaves his plough afield,  
 The reaper leaves his hook;  
 And from his hand the shepherd-boy  
 Lets fall the pastoral crook. . . .  
 (Longfellow, *March of Bernardo del Carpio*.)

Bernardo's hand it was, that there  
 The gallant Roland slew,  
 Bernardo, bravest of the brave,  
 Who France's host o'erthrew. . . .  
 (Caleb Cushing, *Bernardo at Roncesvalles*.)

The most frequent variations are due to the substitution of an anapest for the usual iambic, or the omission of the fourth stress in the first line, and sometimes in the first and third. In seven of Gibson's translations the catalectic lines are so numerous that they suggest a new pattern, rather than variations. They belong, perhaps, to the next classification.

(5) *Three-stress lines, iambic (six syllables, with variations).*

Just as among the *romances* we find a few scattered ballads in six-syllable lines, so among the translations are some that belong definitely to a three-stress pattern. They are the result, apparently, of the breaking-up of the twelve-syllable line, and are not much more successful than the long line. The most effective use of the three-stress line is to give variety to the "Common Meter" quatrain by taking the place, occasionally, of the regular line of four stresses.

(6) *Four-stress lines, iambic (quatrains and other stanzas of varying length).*

This type, the "Long Meter" of English ballad-makers, is represented by several notable translations. Monotony, the most common defect of the pattern, is generally avoided by the substitution of trochees and anapests. Some of the best translators base their rhythm on the number of stresses, irrespective of the number of syllables in each line. The regular pattern, with variations, may be found in John Hookham Frere's fine translation of *El Rey de Aragón*, from which the following three quatrains are taken:

The King of Aragon look'd down  
From Campo Viejo, where he stood;  
And he beheld the Sea of Spain,  
Both the ebb-tide and the flood. . . .

The King stood silent for a while;  
He gazed and wept at his own thought—  
'Oh, Naples, thou'rt a princely purchase,  
But thou has been dearly bought. . . .

'Two-and-twenty years you cost me,  
The best of my life that are pass'd away;  
For here this beard began to grow,  
And here it has been turn'd to grey.'

Gibson used the four-stress line with notable success in his translation of *La Venganza de Mudarra*. In each of the five stanzas, varying in length from eight to twelve lines, two three-stress lines replace, at intervals, the regular iambic verse. There is not space here for this beautiful ballad, nor for the equally successful *Death of Aliatar* by Lord Holland, in which the eight iambic lines of each stanza are followed by four lines in the slower trochaic movement.

(7) *Four-stress lines, trochaic (eight and seven syllables).*

The most interesting modification of the four-stress iambic line is the four-stress trochaic, the rhythmic pattern that most nearly approximates the octosyllabic line of the *romance*. The number of syllables is the same, and in both there is a strong stress on the seventh;

the main difference is the much larger proportion of lines of seven syllables in English, and the rigidity of the dissyllabic movement compared with the flexibility of the Spanish verse, with its single fixed stress on the seventh syllable.

Nearly all the best translators would be represented in a collection of ballads of this metrical type. The first of the specimens cited is taken from one of the oldest ballads in English, the *Gentle River* of Bishop Percy, famous for his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765); the second from Thomas Rodd, who should be remembered as the first Englishman who took seriously the translating of Spanish ballads. The others are chosen mainly because of the prestige of their authors.

Gentle river, gentle river,  
Lo, thy streams are stained with gore,  
Many a brave and noble captain  
Floats along thy willowed shore. . . .  
(Bishop Percy, *Gentle River*.)

Abenamar, Abenamar,  
Moor of Moors, and man of worth.  
On the day when thou wert cradled,  
There were signs in heaven and earth. . . .  
(Thomas Rodd, *Abenamar*.)

'I'm no widow, good King John,  
I am still a wedded wife;  
And the Moor who is my husband  
Loves me better than his life!' . . .  
(Gibson, *Abenamar*.)

When the gay-plumed birds are silent,  
And the earth lies still to hear  
How the rivers, gently murmuring,  
To the sea their tribute bear. . . .  
(John Oxenford, *The Death of King Roderick*.)

Who had ever such adventure,  
Holy priest or virgin nun,  
As befell the Count Arnaldos  
At the rising of the sun? . . .  
(Lockhart, *Count Arnaldos*.)

Telling how the Count Arnaldos,  
With his hawk upon his hand,  
Saw a fair and stately galley,  
Steering onward to the land; . . .  
(Longfellow, *The Secret of the Sea*.)

Such are a few specimens of the many that follow the type in rhythm and rime. The following show slight variations: the mingling of iambs with the prevailing trochees; an occasional anapest, and the final stress on the eighth syllable; *a a b b* and *a b a b* rimes, instead

of the usual *a b c b*; double rimes alternating with single; unrimed lines.

The Moorish King rides up and down,  
Through Granada's royal town;  
From Elvira's gates to those  
Of Bivarambla on he goes.

Woe is me, Alhama!  
Letters to the monarch tell  
How Alhama's city fell;  
In the fire the scroll he threw,  
And the messenger he slew.

Woe is me, Alhama!  
(Lord Byron, *The Loss of Alhama*.)

Through Granada, swiftly speeding,  
See the Moorish monarch go;  
Sighs declare his heart is bleeding,  
Fast his tears of anguish flow.

Ay de mi Alhama!  
(M. G. Lewis, *The Loss of Alhama*.)

Through the city of Granada  
Swift the Moorish Monarch hastened,  
From the portals of Elvira  
To the gate of Bivarambla,

Ah! Alas Alhama!  
(Southey, *The Loss of Alhama*.)

But the sailor shook his head,  
Shook it thrice, and briefly said:  
'Never will I teach the strain

But to him who sails the main.' . . .  
(George Borrow, *Count Arnaldos*.)

Henry and King Pedro clasping,  
Hold in straining arms each other;  
Tugging hard, and closely grasping,  
Brother proves his strength with brother. . . .

Thus with mortal gasp and quiver,  
While the blood in bubbles welled,  
Fled the fiercest soul that ever  
In a Christian bosom dwelled.  
(Walter Scott, *The Death of Don Pedro*.)

#### RHYTHMIC UNITS AND RIME

Since the rime schemes of ballad translations are pretty much the same as those of the popular ballads of England and Scotland, the stanzaic arrangements are quite similar. Riming couplets for the long lines, the combination of two and three couplets into longer stanzas, the quatrains of short lines with *a b c b*, *a a b b*, or *a b a b* rimes, the grouping of quatrains into stanzas of varying lengths, all are rep-

resented. It is true that some of the translators—Ticknor, Bowring, Wilson, and Head—imitate the continuous verse arrangement of the originals; but since their rime schemes are, for the most part, the same as those of other translators, their ballads could be printed in the usual stanzaic forms. Some kind of rime is used by all the well-known translators except Robert Southey, who in his translation of *Abenámár and John II*, for example, dispenses with rime and depends entirely for his poetic effects upon careful attention to rhythm and diction. The stanzas vary in length from four to twelve verses.

A few translations there are that show some dissatisfaction with the rime schemes of English balladry for the interpretation of the characteristic vowel rime of the Spanish ballads. *The Defeat of Don Roderick* (George Moir, *Edinburgh Review*, [January, 1824]) repeats the same vowel sound *ay* at the end of every line; since he carefully refrained from putting any consonant or vowel after this sound, we do not know whether he intended it as consonantal rime or assonance. Bowring, in several translations, repeats a single end-vowel sound, usually *ee*, in the attempt to unify his ballad by a single rime. With the evident purpose of breaking the monotony of *me, thee, see, he, be*, he inserts such words as *misery, pensively, purity*, and *poverty*, words that have to be mispronounced if they are to continue the rime, or that obscure the rime, if pronounced naturally. Even those who think that Bowring is one of the best translators of Spanish ballads would hardly claim that this is a good imitation of Spanish assonance. In a short poem like *The Good Daughter* the repetition of the same vowel is not unpleasant; not so, however, in *Count Alarcos*, in which the same vowel sound is repeated more than two hundred times, without any following consonants to relieve the monotony. James Elroy Flecker makes a similarly diffident use of assonance in his *Lord Arnaldos*; the translation has its good points, but it cannot be cited as a good example of assonated verse.

#### CONSONANTAL RIME AND ASSONANCE

Rime, as we know it in English, means the repetition of the final stressed vowel sound and all that follows, both consonants and vowels. For the Spanish, in addition to this kind of rime, there is assonance, the repetition of the final stressed vowel sound and any following unstressed vowel. To differentiate vowel rime from the kind that requires identity of both consonants and vowels, we call the latter, somewhat arbitrarily, consonantal rime. From the Spanish point of view, assonance does not mean, as it frequently does to English readers, faulty rime; if it is imperfect, incomplete, it is intentionally so, and has a conscious technique as definitely established by tradition as consonantal rime. In medieval France and in Provence, as in Spain, assonance was the accepted rime for epic poetry;

but, whereas in other countries it fell into disuse with the introduction of consonantal rime, in Spain it persisted as a definite type and has retained its popularity down to the present time. It may be said that at least half of all Spanish poetry makes use of assonance, and in every period of Spanish literature there have been outstanding poets who have shown a decided preference for this kind of rime. Although assonance was inherited by the *romances* from primitive epic poetry, it should not be considered merely as a survival of primitive poetry, and still less, as a case of retarded development.

Except for a few Spanish ballads in quatrains, the usual form of the *romance* is a single unit of octosyllabic lines, bound together by one assonance. Unlike consonantal rime that becomes monotonous if repeated more than two or three times, assonance, because of the variety gained by continually changing consonants, may be repeated indefinitely. In the Conde Alarcos ballad the *i-a* assonance occurs two hundred and fourteen times.

The fact that almost none of the outstanding translators of Spanish ballads have attempted to use assonance, and that the efforts of the few who have made the attempt have been rather futile, would seem to be sufficient proof that it cannot be done without too costly a sacrifice of one or both of the other requisites of a good translation. And yet those who know and love the *romances* will continue to miss in the translations, however good they may be otherwise, this familiar characteristic.

Theoretically, why have the ballad translators avoided assonance with such consistency? In the first place, any kind of rime is much more difficult and less spontaneous in English than in Spanish. The number of vowel sounds is much larger, and, therefore, the choice of rimes is much more restricted. In the second place, the great majority of English words, such as are likely to occur in poetry, are oxytonic, and the excessive use of single rimes becomes monotonous. In Spanish, the majority of words are paroxytonic; double rimes occur readily to the poet, and a more varied riming technique is at his disposal. There is far more blank verse in English than in the Romance literatures, and free verse has been more widely accepted in English-speaking countries than elsewhere.

As regards assonantal rime, additional difficulties face the English poet. Not only are our vowel sounds much more numerous than in Spanish; when stressed, they are less sonorous; and when unstressed, they tend to become vague and almost inaudible. Spanish vowel sounds are fewer in number, but they occur more frequently than in English, and are always clear-cut and sonorous. In Spanish, the vowels are dominant; in English, the consonants attract more attention than the vowels. The repetition of vowel sounds is hardly perceptible to the English ear if the following consonants are different.

Although English does not lend itself readily to assonance, and although the few attempts to imitate the rime scheme of Spanish ballads have not been successful, further experimentation may produce better results. The melody of verse rests mainly on the vowels; and if vowel rime does not seem to satisfy our English ears, perhaps tradition is the cause, rather than that assonance in itself is displeasing. The scattered examples of assonance in our old ballads and its common use in nursery rimes are surely not displeasing. It may be a primitive form of rime; so much the better, now that all the arts are turning to the primitive for new techniques. Some one may yet do for the *romances* what Denis Florence MacCarthy did so successfully in his imitation of the *romance* versification of Calderon.

The few ballad translators who have attempted assonance did not fully understand its technique, underestimated its possibilities, or lacked the courage of their convictions. If the attempt is made, it should be made frankly and resolutely. The two kinds of rime cannot be combined. If assonance is used, the vowel sound or sounds must be repeated often enough to break through the natural insensibility of the English ear to the regular repetition of vocalic sounds only. Consonantal rimes should be avoided, since they would obscure the assonance or give to the assonantal rimes the effect of poor workmanship. Double assonance is more pleasing than single and is more likely to attract attention. If the translator is using single assonance and is troubled by the thought that his carefully constructed rime scheme might pass unnoticed, he could call attention to it by using, from time to time, words ending in the assonating vowel. A strong rhythmic stress on the words in assonance should prove helpful.

The following translations are intended to illustrate the technique of assonance, call attention to this essential characteristic of Spanish ballads, and arouse, perhaps, the spirit of emulation in other would-be translators. There is no thought of supplanting the well-known translations of the same ballads.

#### *El prisionero*

Por mayo era, por mayo,  
cuando los grandes calores,  
cuando los enamorados  
van servir a sus amores,  
sino yo, triste mezquino,  
que yago en estas prisiones,  
que ni sé cuando es día,  
ni menos cuando es de noche,  
sino por una avecilla  
que me canta al albor;  
matómela un balletero;  
idéle Dios mal galardón!

#### *The Prisoner*

'Twas the gladsome month of May  
When the days are growing warmer,  
When through verdant hills and meadows  
Lovers with their sweethearts wander;  
All but me, a wretched captive  
In this dungeon, cold and somber.  
Day and night to me are one  
Now that they have stilled the warble  
Of a bird that sang at dawn  
Just outside my prison postern.  
Wantonly an archer killed it,—  
With God's curse be he rewarded!



*Fontefrida*

Fontefrida, fontefrida,  
 Fontefrida y con amor,  
 do todas las avećicas  
 van tomar consolación,  
 sino es la tortolica  
 que está viuda y con dolor.  
 Por allí fuera a pasar  
 el traidor del ruiñeñor;  
 las palabras que le dice  
 llenas son de traición:  
 —Si tú quisieses, señora,  
 yo sería tu servidor.  
 —Vete de ahí, enemigo,  
 malo, falso, engañador,  
 que ni poso en ramo verde,  
 ni en prado que tenga flor;  
 que si el agua hallo clara,  
 turbia la bebía yo;  
 que no quiero haber marido,  
 porque hijos no haya, no;  
 no quiero placer con ellos,  
 ni menos consolación.  
 ¡Déjame, triste enemigo,  
 malo, falso, mal traidor,  
 que no quiero ser tu amiga  
 ni casar contigo, no.

*El Conde Arnaldos*

¡Quién hubiera tal ventura  
 sobre las aguas del mar,  
 como hubo el conde Arnaldos  
 la mañana de San Juan!  
 Con un falcón en la mano  
 la caza iba a cazar,  
 vió venir una galera,  
 que a tierra quiere llegar.  
 Las velas tenía de seda,  
 la ejercía de un cendal,  
 marinero que la manda  
 diciendo viene un cantar  
 que la mar facía en calma,  
 los vientos hace amainar,  
 los peces que andan nel hondo  
 arriba los hace andar,  
 las aves que andan volando  
 en el mástel las face posar.  
 Allí habló el conde Arnaldos:  
 bien oiréis lo que dirá:  
 —Por Dios te ruego, marinero,  
 dígasme ora ese cantar.—  
 Respondióle el marinero,  
 tal respuesta le fué a dar:  
 —Yo no digo esta canción  
 sino a quien conmigo va.

*Cooling Fountain*

Cooling fountain, cooling fountain,  
 Fount of pleasure and of love,  
 Where the birds in mating season  
 Seeking consolation come;  
 All except the widowed turtle,  
 Grieving for her turtle-dove.  
 Nightingale, the traitor, passing,  
 Vainly tried to win her trust;  
 With false words he would deceive her  
 And supplant the one she loved:  
 'If it be your will, fair lady,  
 You alone I'd gladly serve.'  
 'Leave me, you deceiver, leave me,  
 False one, hold your wicked tongue;  
 Rest not I on verdant branches,  
 Flower-strewn meadows now I shun.  
 Not for me the cooling fountain;  
 Muddied water slakes my thirst.  
 I'll not have another husband;  
 And for children, I want none  
 To console me with their prattle  
 And my thoughts of him disturb.  
 Leave me, then, you false deceiver;  
 Say no more; begone! enough!  
 I refuse your vows of marriage  
 And disdain your words of love.'

*Count Arnaldos*

Would that I might have the fortune,  
 On the shore there by the sea,  
 That befell the Count Arnaldos  
 Saint John's day of yester-year!  
 Hawk on wrist, from chase returning,  
 He beheld as in a dream,  
 Coming toward him on the seashore,  
 A light galley, sailing free.  
 Bright its silken sails were gleaming,  
 Shrouds that shone with satin sheen;  
 And he heard the helmsman singing  
 Words of magic, tones so sweet,  
 That the wind forgot its raging  
 And the waves their fretting ceased.  
 From the depths where they were hiding  
 Fishes came that they might hear,  
 And the flying birds enraptured  
 Lighted on the ship's lateen.  
 Listening to the song, Arnaldos  
 Cried aloud with fervent plea:  
 'In God's name I ask you, sailor,  
 Me that song, I beg you, teach.'  
 But the sailor merely answered,  
 This his answer firm and brief:  
 'If my song you would be learning,  
 You must sail away with me.'



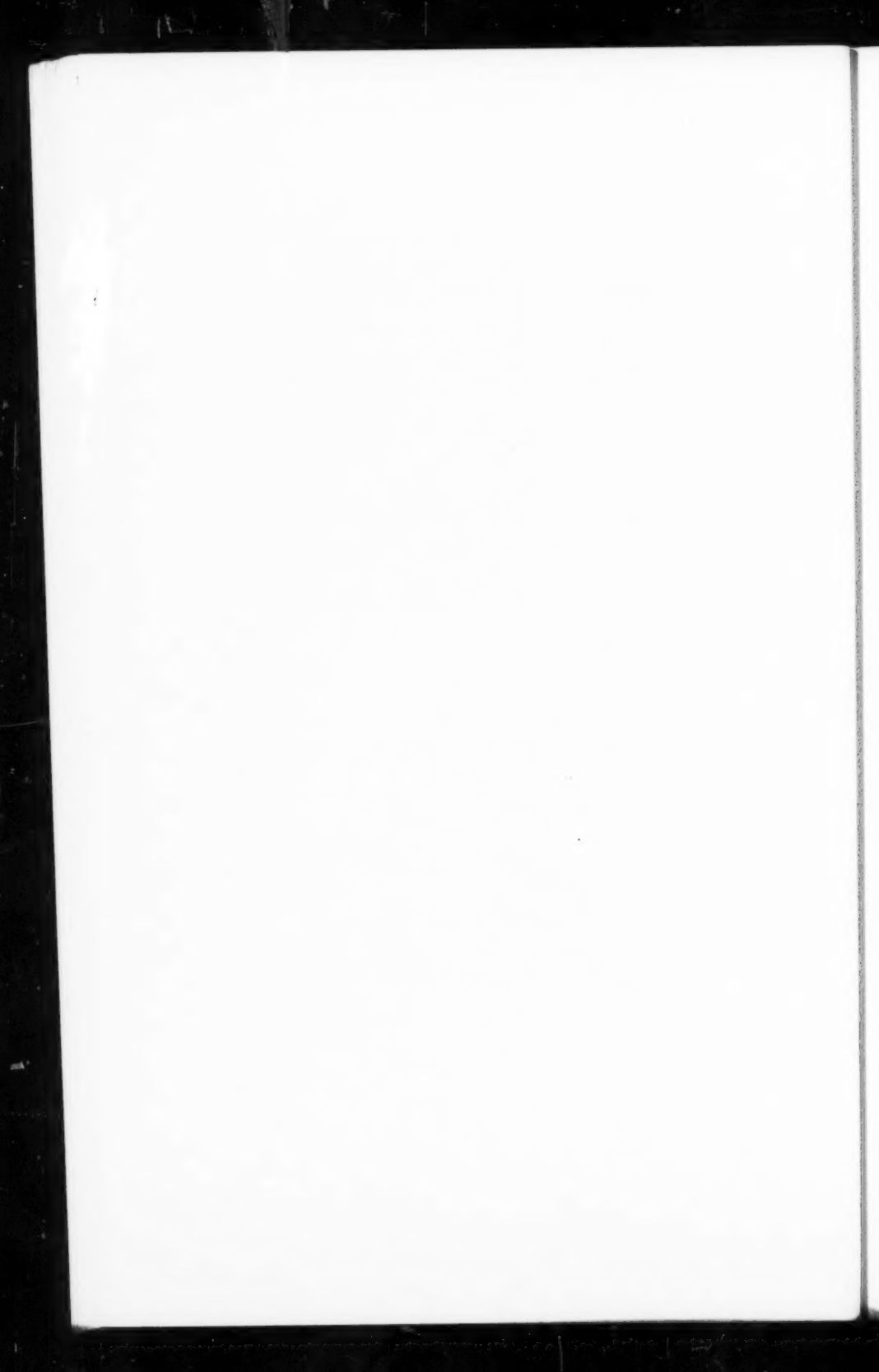
*La morilla burlada*

Yo me era mora Moraima,  
morilla de un bel catar;  
cristiano vino a mi puerta,  
cuitada, por me engañar.  
Hablóme en algarabía  
como aquel que la bien sabe:  
—Abrasme la puerta, mora,  
si Alá te guarde de mal.  
—¿Cómo te abriré, mezquina,  
que no sé quién te serás?  
—Yo soy el moro Mazote,  
hermano de la tu madre,  
que un cristiano dejo muerto;  
tras mí venía el alcalde.  
Si no abres tú, mi vida,  
aquí me verás matar.—  
Cuando esto oí, cuitada,  
comencéme a levantar,  
vistírame una almeja,  
no hallando mi brial,  
fuérame para la puerta  
y abrila de par en par.

*University of Washington*

*The Moorish Maiden*

I, the Moorish maid, Morayma,  
I was a maiden fair and seemly;  
To my door there came a Christian  
And with lying words deceived me.  
Arabic that he knew well  
Was the language of his pleading:  
'Allah keep thee, girl, from harm!  
Open quickly, I beseech thee.'  
'Weak and helpless, I must know  
Who you are and why you seek me.'  
'I'm your mother's long-lost brother,  
I'm the one she loved most dearly;  
Having killed a hated Christian,  
From the alcalde I am fleeing.  
If you do not open quickly,  
For my death you'll soon be grieving.'  
Fearful that his life was threatened,  
I arose, all else unheeding,  
Could not find my silken skirt,  
In my haste an old cloak seizing,  
Opened wide to that false Christian  
Who had come but to deceive me.



## A FORMULA OF LITERARY CRITICISM, FROM ARISTOTLE TO LA BRUYÈRE

By PHILIP A. WADSWORTH

In recent years La Bruyère has received singularly little attention from scholars. Certain classical sources have been found for passages in his *Caractères*, certain contemporary figures have been found to fit his portraits, but there have been no general studies which make his life and art better understood. One of his most significant talents, that of criticizing the work of other authors, has never been thoroughly examined or properly evaluated.<sup>1</sup> The critical writings of La Bruyère could be made the subject for considerable engrossing and fruitful research.

The topic is a spacious one, opening into many other fields. The present paper aims only to explore one of its smallest bypaths, but even this will lead to distant corners of the seventeenth century and across the ages to Aristotle. If one rereads La Bruyère's most famous literary pronouncement, his parallel between Corneille and Racine, one finds, toward the end, the striking and frequently quoted sentence: "Corneille nous assujettit à ses caractères et à ses idées, Racine se conforme aux nôtres; celui-là peint les hommes comme ils devoient être, celui-ci les peint tels qu'ils sont."<sup>2</sup> Then La Bruyère gives a series of similar antitheses, developing this contrast between the idealism of one dramatist and the realism of the other, and finally he concludes his essay by saying: "Corneille est plus moral, Racine plus naturel. Il semble que l'un imite Sophocle, et que l'autre doit plus à Euripide."<sup>3</sup> La Bruyère's parallel is skillfully and forcefully written, but there is reason to think that these final passages, which clinch the central idea, are not entirely original.

Editors of La Bruyère have pointed out that, in his comparison of Corneille and Racine, and particularly in the sentences quoted above, he drew upon the dramatist Longepierre for certain phrases and themes.<sup>4</sup> In 1686, two years before the first edition of the *Caractères*, Longepierre had published a *Parallèle de Monsieur Corneille et de Monsieur Racine*. La Bruyère did indeed borrow from this essay, but his indebtedness to Longepierre should not be exaggerated. It will be seen that La Bruyère has made use of expressions which originated

<sup>1</sup> The best study to date is a chapter by Gustave Michaut in his *La Bruyère* (Paris, 1936), pp. 91-118.

<sup>2</sup> La Bruyère, *Œuvres*, ed. G. Servois (Paris, 1865-1878), I, 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 142, and I, 426.

in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and which became common currency among the literary critics of seventeenth-century France.

In defending poetry against the charge of unreality, Aristotle made an important critical remark which he attributed to Sophocles: "Sophocles said that he portrayed people as they ought to be and Euripides portrayed them as they are."<sup>5</sup> This is the germ of the sentences quoted from La Bruyère, both the comparison of Corneille to Sophocles and of Racine to Euripides, and also the distinction between idealistic and realistic representation in art. The same distinction may be found elsewhere in the *Poetics*; it is an idea which Aristotle often repeated, for it epitomized his whole theory of poetry's nature and purpose. The clearest exposition of his theory occurs in a contrast which he draws between poetry and history:

... a poet's object is not to tell what actually happened but what could and would happen either probably or inevitably. The difference between a historian and a poet is not that one writes in prose and the other in verse. . . . The real difference is this, that one tells what happened and the other what might happen. For this reason poetry is something more scientific and serious than history, because poetry tends to give general truths while history gives particular facts.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, to Aristotle, while poetry was an imitation of life, it necessarily diverged from actual reality; its realm was a higher reality, for it dealt not with commonplace facts but with universal truths.

Aristotle's distinction between things as they are and things as they ought to be constituted a formula which was to catch and hold the imagination of a multitude of literary theorists. Spingarn has shown that in the Italian Renaissance critics took Aristotle as their mentor, usually following him quite faithfully, although sometimes failing to understand him.<sup>7</sup> The difference between poetry and history, the poet's right to change known facts, the value of universal truths over mere particulars—these ideas were repeated time after time, by Daniello, Robortelli, Fracastoro, Scaliger, Castelvetro, and the rest. In France, as Professor Patterson has demonstrated in his study of French poetic theory,<sup>8</sup> the Aristotelian influence arrived somewhat later, becoming very strong in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The movement, manifested in numerous editions and commentaries of Aristotle, reached its climax in the 1630's, when the classical unities were accepted as the basis of French tragedy. Finally,

<sup>5</sup> *Poetics*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1927), p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35. Another example worth mentioning, since seventeenth-century critics frequently echo it, is the passage where Aristotle notes the similarity of method in tragedy and in painting: "Since tragedy is a representation of men better than ourselves we must copy the good portrait painters who, while rendering the individual outline and making likenesses, yet paint people better than they are" (*ibid.*, pp. 57-59).

<sup>7</sup> J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 1899).

<sup>8</sup> W. F. Patterson, *Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory* (Ann Arbor, 1935).

in 1639, La Mesnardière's *Poétique* supplied a guide for dramatists which codified the rules of Aristotle and adapted them to the theater of the day. La Mesnardière reproduces the old comparison of the historian with the poet,<sup>9</sup> and he is, it would seem, the last important French critic—until André Dacier at the end of the century<sup>10</sup>—to employ Aristotle's formula while preserving its original significance.

Meanwhile the phrase was not forgotten; it stayed very much alive, but it acquired new meanings and applications. In 1637, in the heat of the *Cid* quarrel, Georges de Scudéry found that, in condemning Corneille's play, he could add weight to his argument by invoking the prestige of Aristotle. He declared in his *Observations sur le Cid*:

Ce philosophe montre que le métier du poëte est bien plus difficile que celui de l'historien; parce que celui-ci raconte simplement les choses comme en effet elles sont arrivées, au lieu que l'autre les représente, non pas comme elles sont, mais bien comme elles ont dû être. C'est en quoi l'auteur du *Cid* a failli, qui, trouvant dans l'histoire d'Espagne que cette fille [Chimène] avoit épousé le meurtrier de son père, devoit considérer que ce n'étoit pas un sujet d'un poëme accompli parce que étant historique, et par conséquent vrai, mais non pas vraisemblable . . . il ne pouvoit pas le changer ni le rendre propre au poëme dramatique.<sup>11</sup>

Scudéry, whose reasoning is not easily followed, seems to take Aristotle's statement to mean that the poet must render his plots plausible but without changing the familiar facts of history, and hence, if he chooses a historical subject, he must exercise great care in his choice. If the words of Aristotle could be given this interpretation and used to attack Corneille, it is not surprising to find that they could be given an opposite meaning and used in Corneille's defense. The playwright himself, in his *Second discours de la tragédie* (1660), offers a careful translation of Aristotle: "Il [Aristote] nous apprend que 'le poëte n'est pas obligé de traiter les choses comme elles se sont passées, mais comme elles ont pu ou dû se passer, selon le vraisemblable ou le nécessaire.'"<sup>12</sup> Then, enlarging on his source, he claims that Aristotle authorizes dramatists to alter the details of history so as to render them more plausible or more suitable for stage presentation.

Aristotle's definition of the poet's aim had been an inclusive one, not concerned with any particular form or genre, but rather with the art of poetry in general. But in seventeenth-century France his words were usually applied to a specific type of literature, such as tragedy or the epic poem. Scudéry and Corneille were of course thinking mainly of dramatic compositions. So was D'Aubignac, who, in his *Pratique*

<sup>9</sup> See H. R. Reese, *La Mesnardière's Poétique* (Baltimore, 1937), p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> André Dacier, *La Poétique d'Aristote . . . traduite en françois, avec des remarques critiques* (Paris, 1692).

<sup>11</sup> Available in *Œuvres complètes de Pierre Corneille* (Paris, 1834), II, 597.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 571.

du théâtre, borrowing two passages from the *Poetics*, insisted that dramatists must be allowed to take liberties with historical truth:

... c'est une pensée bien ridicule d'aller au Theatre pour apprendre l'Histoire. La Scène ne donne point les choses comme elles ont esté, mais comme elles devoient estre, et le Poëte y doit rétablir dans le sujet tout ce qui ne s'accommodera pas aux regles de son Art, comme fait un Peintre quand il travaille sur un modele defectueux.<sup>13</sup>

While D'Aubignac appropriated Aristotle's phrase as suiting dramatic technique exclusively, critics in other fields also adopted it for use in connection with their favorite form of literature. It became especially popular among commentators on epic poetry, to whom must be added those who wrote about the novel. For in the seventeenth century, it should be remembered, the epic poem and the heroic novel shared the same technical rules, the only difference being that one was written in verse and the other in prose. In 1626, in the dedication of his *Clorymène*, the novelist Marcassus wrote: "Tout le monde est d'accord que l'histoire est le mirouer de tout ce qui se fait, mais il faut aussi advouer que les parfaits romans sont les theastres de ce qu'on doit faire."<sup>14</sup> Boisrobert, in the foreword of his *Histoire indienne* (1629), made a similar assertion: "Ceux qui composent des poëmes épiques et des romans descrivent les actions non pas telles qu'elles sont, mais bien telles qu'elles doivent être."<sup>15</sup> The same words came to the mind of Charles Sorel, who was the most outspoken opponent of heroic novels. Making an effort to present both sides of the case, in his *De la connoissance des bons livres*, he admitted that the defenders of such novels might claim that they were superior to history and to realistic fiction because "... on n'y rapporte pas seulement les choses comme elles se font, mais comme elles se deuroient faire..."—an idea which he proceeded to refute very vigorously.<sup>16</sup> Georges de Scudéry, whose standards for the use of history were so inflexible in the case of Corneille, was willing to grant himself every possible liberty. Echoing the familiar phrase from the *Poetics*, he announced in the preface to his epic poem, *Alaric* (1654): "... il est certain que le Poëte doit traiter les choses, non comme elles ont esté, mais comme elles devoient estre, & les changer & rechanger à son gré, sans considerer ny l'Histoire ny la verité, qui ne sont ny sa Regle, ny sa fin." As a final example, it may be noted that in 1674, in his *Traité du poëme épique*, Père Le Bossu quoted Aristotle's comparison of history and poetry, employing it to support his thesis that the epic

<sup>13</sup> *La Pratique du théâtre*, ed. Pierre Martino (Paris, 1927), p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> Cited by Maurice Magendie, *Le Roman français au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1932), p. 132.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *De la connoissance des bons livres* (Paris, 1671), p. 82.

poem should have as its main subject the solution of a moral problem rather than the narration of historical events.<sup>17</sup>

One of the most curious transformations of Aristotle's formula occurs in a work by Segrain, *Les Nouvelles françaises ou les Divertissements de la princesse Aurélie*. This collection was published in 1657, at a time when the long heroic romances were beginning to lose favor and were giving way to the short psychological novel, or *nouvelle*. Segrain presents a group of six ladies who relate stories to one another, and at one point his narrators dwell in conversation on various kinds of fiction. The princess Aurélie makes this interesting distinction between the novel and the *nouvelle*:

Il me semble que c'est la différence qu'il y a entre le roman et la nouvelle que le roman écrit les choses comme la bienséance le veut et à la manière du poète; mais que la nouvelle doit un peu davantage tenir de l'histoire et s'attacher plutôt à donner les images des choses comme d'ordinaire nous les voyons arriver que comme notre imagination se les figure.<sup>18</sup>

Then she summarizes her program by saying: "Nous avons entrepris de raconter les choses comme elles sont et non pas comme elles doivent être."<sup>19</sup> Thus Aristotle's description of poetry could, in the seventeenth century, serve to qualify the heroic novel, and his description of history could qualify the novelette.

One senses that the original sentence from the *Poetics* had lost its true meaning and context, and was being passed from hand to hand as a sort of cliché of critical parlance. Among the writers quoted, perhaps half knew the source of the words they were using and changed their application consciously. To the rest these words were merely a telling, epigrammatic phrase which they had read in the writings of their contemporaries, and which they were glad to borrow or adapt for their own purposes. It was perhaps a fashionable remark in the salons to say that two books were different, or two authors were different, because one showed things as they are and the other showed things as they ought to be.

In any case the Aristotelian formula was widely known by the 1680's, when it played a part in a sequence of critical works dealing

<sup>17</sup> *Traité du poème épique* (Paris, ed. of 1693), p. 55. Also in 1674, to give still another instance, René Rapin recalled Aristotle's phrase in his *Réflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote*, insisting on verisimilitude as the poet's primary rule: "Quelle merveilleuse que soit la fable, elle ne fera point d'effet si elle n'est vraisemblable. . . . La vérité ne fait les choses que comme elles sont et la vraisemblance les fait comme elles doivent être" (cited in Boileau, *Œuvres*, ed. Pierre Clarac [Paris, 1936], p. 226). Boileau, whose *Art poétique* likewise dates from 1674, was of course familiar with the ideas of Aristotle (and probably with those of Rapin) but his manner of expression was thoroughly original:

Jamais au spectateur n'offrez rien d'incroyable;  
Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.  
(*Art poétique*, III, lines 47-48.)

<sup>18</sup> Cited by M. A. Raynal, *La Nouvelle française de Segrain à Mme de La Fayette* (Paris, n.d.), p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.



with Corneille or with the relative merit of Corneille and Racine. After the death of Pierre Corneille in 1684, his seat in the French academy was awarded to his brother Thomas. The ceremony of induction took place on January 2, 1685, and on that occasion Racine delivered a discourse of welcome, most of which he devoted to praising his recently deceased rival. Racine's eulogy was excessively flattering—under the circumstances it could hardly be otherwise—but it displayed a keen appreciation of Corneille's contribution to the theater. There are only a few sentences which need be cited here, first a tribute to the dignity and elevation of Corneille's characters:

Combien de rois, de princes, de héros de toutes nations nous a-t-il représentés, toujours tels qu'ils doivent être, toujours uniformes avec eux-mêmes, et jamais ne se ressemblant les uns aux autres! . . . Enfin, ce qui lui est surtout particulier, une certaine force, une certaine élévation qui surprend, qui enlève, et qui rend jusqu'à ses défauts, si on lui en peut reprocher quelques-uns, plus estimables que les vertus des autres.<sup>20</sup>

Then another exclamation, likening Corneille to the dramatists of ancient Greece: "Personnage véritablement né pour la gloire de son pays; comparable . . . aux Eschyles, aux Sophocles, aux Euripides . . ." Is there, in the ambiguous phrase "toujours tels qu'ils doivent être," or in the conception of "le sublime Corneille," or in the mention of Sophocles and Euripides, a reminiscence of Aristotle's *Poetics*, that work which Racine had so often studied and had so carefully annotated? Did Racine arrive unaided at his evaluation of Corneille, or was this opinion a commonplace of his day, accepted because of the very nature of Corneille's art?

Racine's speech before the Academy was promptly published, and it became well known among men of letters. The following year, in 1686, in the ninth volume of his *Jugemens des Sçavans*, Adrian Baillet reprinted a long passage from the speech, exactly that portion written in praise of Pierre Corneille's dramatic talents.<sup>21</sup> It was in this same volume of the *Jugemens des Sçavans* that Longepierre's parallel between Corneille and Racine made its first appearance.<sup>22</sup> Longepierre's study is a serious and intelligent effort at literary criticism, and moreover it is almost impartial. One sees at once that he preferred Racine to Corneille, but he strove persistently to give the latter his due. Although it cannot be proved by textual similarities, Longepierre seems to have been guided by Racine's oration, for both men have essentially the same interpretation of Corneille's genius. Also, Longepierre seems to have been influenced by the Aristotelian distinction between things as they are and things as they ought to be. He was undoubtedly familiar with the *Poetics*, for he was a lover of

<sup>20</sup> Racine, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1865-1873), IV, 359-60.

<sup>21</sup> *Jugemens des Sçavans* (Paris, 1685-1686), IX, 156-59.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 383-408.

Greek literature and an eloquent champion of the ancients over the moderns. He does not quote Aristotle, but the contrast between an idealistic Corneille and a realistic Racine forms the principal theme throughout his essay. A few paragraphs will suffice to show the nature of his parallel:

On trouve quelque chose de plus heroïque, de plus extraordinaire, de plus surprenant dans le premier [Corneille].

On sent dans le second [Racine] quelque chose de plus vray, de plus agreable, de plus touchant.<sup>23</sup>

Monsieur Corneille a un talent extraordinaire pour peindre. On diroit qu'il tient la Nature au dessous de luy; & que méprisant les idées qu'elle luy peut offrir, il ne veuille puiser que, dans son genie, qui luy fournit en abondance ces traits singuliers, & plus grand que nature. Ce qui fait que ses portraits sont toujours merveilleux, & ne sont pas toujours ressemblans; & qu'ils brillent, & se font admirer par ce qu'ils ont de rare & d'extraordinaire.

Quelle confiance que M. Racine dût avoir en son genie, il n'a pas crû qu'il luy fût permis de le suivre toujours, & de le prendre pour guide au mépris de la Nature. Il est persuadé que . . . on ne la doit jamais perdre de vû; & qu'il faut toujours la consulter religieusement, comme l'oracle de la verité . . .<sup>24</sup>

One can feel fairly sure of Longepierre's debt to Aristotle when, after these remarks on natural and preternatural dramaturgy, he concludes by referring to Sophocles and Euripides: "Pour les comparer aux deux plus grands hommes que l'Antiquité ait produits en ce genre d'écrire pour la Tragedie; disons que Monsieur Corneille approche davantage de Sophocle, & que Monsieur Racine ressemble plus à Eurypide."<sup>25</sup>

Two years later, at the beginning of 1688, La Bruyère published the first edition of his *Caractères*, containing his own parallel between Corneille and Racine. It could easily be shown, by the similarity of opinions expressed, that La Bruyère was probably acquainted with Racine's oration, and that he was undoubtedly familiar with Longepierre's parallel. What matters here, however, is that he only once imitated at all closely the wording of Longepierre—in the comparison of Corneille to Sophocles and of Racine to Euripides—and even here he may have been inspired by a recollection of Aristotle.<sup>26</sup> As for his

<sup>23</sup> *Jugemens des Sçavans*, IX, 385.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 386.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 407.

<sup>26</sup> Or possibly even a recollection of Boileau who, in various complimentary verses addressed to Racine, had compared that dramatist to both Sophocles and Euripides. See references in La Bruyère, *op. cit.*, I, 427. Some years later Boileau took up the question more seriously, in the seventh of his *Réflexions sur Longin* (1694), and settled it with this cautious verdict: "La postérité jugera qui vaut le mieux des deux [Corneille and Racine]; car je suis persuadé que les écrits de l'un et de l'autre passeront aux siècles suivans. Mais jusque-là ni l'un ni l'autre ne doit être mis en parallèle avec Eurypide et avec Sophocle, puisque leurs ouvrages n'ont point encore le sceau qu'ont les ouvrages d'Eurypide et de Sophocle, je veux dire l'approbation de plusieurs siècles" (Boileau, *op. cit.*, p. 376).

famous epigram, "Corneille peint les hommes comme ils devroient être, Racine les peint tels qu'ils sont," this certainly did not come from Longepierre; it may have been evolved either by referring directly to the *Poetics* of Aristotle, or by enlarging the phrase as used by Racine, or by remembering the cliché which so many seventeenth-century critics had reiterated.

To point out the possible sources for these sentences is not to discount the originality of La Bruyère. He borrowed certain phrases, to be sure, but he reworded them to suit his needs and inserted them at appropriate places in a literary essay which is characterized by great freshness and vigor. However his ideas may have been formed, whatever models may have come to his mind as he worked, La Bruyère, like all true artists, transformed his materials and expressed them in a style unmistakably his own.

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## VIRTUOUS DUPLICITY IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

By CHARLES E. MOUNTS

When Artegall learns from Burbon how the latter, in order to keep the love of Flourdelis, has laid aside the shield of faith bestowed upon him by the Red Cross Knight, the immediate impulse of the Knight of Justice is to warn Burbon that such conduct is dishonorable. Burbon is not in the least abashed, but calmly justifies himself:

'Not so,' quoth he; 'for yet, when time doth serve,  
My former shield I may resume again:  
To temporize is not from truth to swerve,  
Ne for advantage terme to entertaine,  
When as necessitie doth it constraene.'<sup>1</sup>

To which truly Machiavellian sentiment the response of Sir Artegall is everything that the strictest moralist could desire:

'Fie on such forgerie,' said Artegall,  
'Under one hood to shadow faces twaine!  
Knight ought be true, and truth is one in all:  
Of all things, to dissemble foully may befall.'<sup>2</sup>

Here is the clear case of a virtuous character rebuking a dissembler, and though the very next stanza indicates that Burbon's dishonesty is not sufficient in itself to deter the Knight of Justice from coming to his aid, doubtless most readers have felt that in this episode Spenser has vigorously upheld the ethical proprieties and struck a sturdy blow in behalf of truthfulness in human affairs.

There is more than a little reason, however, for doubting that Spenser is so uncompromising an adherent of veracity as Artegall's pronouncement would seem to indicate. According to the commonly accepted interpretation of the historical allegory at this point, Burbon stands for Henry of Navarre, who has maintained his rule in France by giving up his Protestantism, his shield of the true faith. In other words, he has laid aside religious or doctrinal truth for the sake of temporal advantage. It is well to remember in this connection that Una, the heroine of Book One and the betrothed of the Knight of Holiness, is much more clearly the type of religious or doctrinal truth than she is of mere truthfulness as a secular virtue. The query naturally arises as to whether it may not be demonstrable, upon close

<sup>1</sup> *The Faerie Queene*, V, xi, 56. I have used the Students' Cambridge Edition of *Spenser's Complete Poems*, ed. R. E. Neil Dodge (Cambridge, 1908) for quotations from *The Faerie Queene*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

analysis, that the truth that Spenser glorifies in *The Faerie Queene* is for the most part religious truth, and that the actual behavior of even his most virtuous characters is often rather startlingly at variance with strict veracity.

Professor Judson<sup>3</sup> and Professor Osgood<sup>4</sup> have already pointed out a number of episodes in which morally praiseworthy characters in *The Faerie Queene* practice dissimulation, but since their published observations on this point are limited to Book Six, the Book of Courtesy, I shall attempt briefly to review the findings of these two men, and then, at greater length, to demonstrate that similar episodes occur in other parts of the poem.

Professor Judson, in an article devoted primarily to Spenser's theory of courtesy, touches, though only briefly, upon the legitimacy of lying to serve a worthy end:

Although Sir Calidore loathes lies, and loves 'simple truth and steadfast honesty,' it is of interest that he tells a lie to shield Priscilla's good name. Also the courteous knight Enias lies to Turpine, and the magnificent Arthur falsifies with somewhat less excuse.<sup>5</sup>

In order that the reader of the present article will not overlook or misconceive the moral significance of these several incidents, some synopsis of Spenser's narrative may seem pardonable at this point.

First, as to Sir Calidore. Aladine and Priscilla are deeply in love, but she is the daughter of a noble lord who wishes his daughter to marry a great peer, and who consequently frowns upon the suit of the impecunious but valorous Aladine. The lovers, nevertheless, contrive to meet secretly, and at one such tryst Aladine, though completely unarmed and unable to defend himself, is maliciously attacked by a discourteous knight who leaves him desperately wounded. Sir Calidore, Spenser's Knight of Courtesy, happens along very opportunely and helps Priscilla carry Aladine to the house of his father, Aldus. There the sorrowing girl remains, nursing her wounded lover and watching over him until he recovers consciousness on the following day. The crisis over, the task now remains to get Priscilla back to her own father's house without disgrace. Remembering how on the previous day he had seen the young Tristram slay a wicked knight not far from there, Calidore hies himself to the carcass and cuts off its head. Bearing aloft this grisly relic, he escorts Priscilla home.

There he arriving boldly, did present  
The fearefull lady to her father deare,

<sup>3</sup> Alexander Corbin Judson, "Spenser's Theory of Courtesy," *PMLA*, XLVII (1932), 127.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Grosvenor Osgood, quoted in the "Commentary" to *The Faerie Queene*, Book Six, Canto IV, xxxviii, 3-9, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition* (Baltimore, 1938).

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*

Most perfect pure and guiltlesse innocent  
 Of blame, as he did on his knighthood sweare,  
 Since first he saw her, and did free from feare  
 Of a discourteous knight, who her had reft,  
 And by outrageous force away did beare:  
 Witnesse thereof he shew'd his head there left,  
 And wretched life forlorne for vengeance of his theft.<sup>6</sup>

Spenser himself calls this deception a "counter-cast of slight, To give faire colour to that ladies cause,"<sup>7</sup> and however sympathetic we may be with the luckless Priscilla, we can scarcely deny that the Knight of Courtesy has here perpetrated a good thumping falsehood in her behalf.

The other two instances cited by Professor Judson are less impressive. In one, the villainous but cowardly Sir Turpine, unwilling to risk a second personal encounter with Prince Arthur, makes groundless accusations against him before two knights and persuades the two to overtake the Prince and attack him. After Arthur, in self-defense, has killed one of them, the other, Sir Enias, defeated and sorely wounded, confesses the reason for the onslaught. Thereupon Arthur dispatches Enias back to Sir Turpine with the story that Arthur himself now lies slain. Overjoyed by this misinformation, Turpine is led into a trap and appropriately punished.<sup>8</sup> Only a little earlier in the story Arthur has had another occasion to use falsehood against Sir Turpine. Having received complaints as to the latter's mistreatment of the weak and unfortunate, Arthur, accompanied by a Spenserian prototype of the Noble Savage, appears at Turpine's castle. To the surly groom who challenges him he announces that he is an errant knight fallen "into this feeble case Through many wounds, which lately he in fight Received had." According to expectation, he is rudely treated, and he and his companion take up arms against the people of the castle and bring about Turpine's temporary downfall.<sup>9</sup>

From these three episodes, Professor Judson concludes that "evidently, in Spenser's opinion, occasions may demand a lie on the part of the most high-minded and honorable men," and he cites the parallel of Guazzo, who in *La Civile Conversation* "causes the wise Anni-ball to say: 'I denie not, but that it is commendable to coyne a lye at some time, and in some place, so that it tend to some honest ende.'"<sup>10</sup>

Professor Osgood, as one of the editors of the *Variorum Spenser*, not only has incorporated Professor Judson's observations into the Commentary on Book Six of *The Faerie Queene*, but has added a

<sup>6</sup> *FQ*, VI, iii, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Stanza 16, lines 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> *FQ*, VI, vii.

<sup>9</sup> *FQ*, VI, vi.

<sup>10</sup> *Loc. cit.*

rather amusing episode to the collection. This is the story of Calepine, who after a considerable chase through the forest succeeds in rescuing a baby from the clutches of a bear. By the time he has effected the rescue he is completely lost. Up hill and down dale he wanders, much encumbered by the infant, who by this time is shrieking lustily for food. By a happy accident Calepine encounters Matilde, whose husband so grievously longs for an heir that she finds her childless condition most unbearable. The situation is thus made to order for Sir Calepine, who loses no time in persuading Matilde to take the baby as her own:

Right glad was Calepine to be so rid  
Of his young charge, whereof he skilled nought:  
Ne she lesse glad, for she so wisely did,  
And with her husband under hand so wrought,  
That when that infant unto him she brought,  
She made him think it surely was his owne.<sup>11</sup>

Just how this miracle was accomplished Spenser does not say. One surmises that Matilde's husband must have been pretty willing to be deceived, but some minor circumstances in the account make one wonder why any deception was necessary. For the present purpose, the point is that Spenser obviously approves of the "under hand" arrangement that Matilde so wisely wrought. Professor Osgood himself comments but little on this "second deception by presumably courteous people in this book," appending a pertinent quotation from Cicero.<sup>12</sup>

Turning from the instances previously noted by Professor Judson and Professor Osgood, and attempting the larger task of a fairly complete recording of all similar incidents in *The Faerie Queene*, we immediately encounter a difficulty in determining in certain cases whether Spenser really intends his virtuous characters to falsify or has merely forgotten to make two parts of his narrative consistent with each other. Indeed, Spenser is notoriously given to this sort of blunder. The poet who can leave Sir Satyrane and Sans Loy battling to the death at the end of a canto and subsequently neglect to acquaint his reader with the outcome is capable of many less obvious slips, and in several instances what seem to be falsehoods are probably not so intended by Spenser at all.

The first of these, oddly enough, issues from the lips of Una herself, when she declares to Prince Arthur that she has personally witnessed the prowess of Red Cross "in many a cruel fight."<sup>13</sup> Up to

<sup>11</sup> *FQ*, VI, iv, 38.

<sup>12</sup> *De Officiis*, I, 10, 31. *Quaeque pertinent ad veritatem et ad fidem, ea migrare interdum et non servare sit justum. Referrī enim decet ad ea, quae posui principio, fundamenta justitiae, primum ut ne cui noceatur, deinde ut communi utilitati serviat.*

<sup>13</sup> *FQ*, I, vii, 47.



the time that she meets Arthur the only battle that she has seen Red Cross engage in has been the relatively easy contest with Errour in the very beginning of the story. Moreover, the first stanza of the first canto states explicitly that "armes till that time did he never wield," and Una was separated from Red Cross at the time of his encounters with Sans Foy, Sans Joy, and Orgoglio. Yet one hesitates to ascribe deliberate misstatement to so lovely and so virtuous a character as Una, and the comparative lack of motive for any deception makes it reasonably certain that Spenser has inadvertently caused her to overstate the case.

Similarly, the Red Cross Knight, carried away by the revelations of Heavenly Contemplation, solemnly promises that old man that as soon as he can abet the cause of Una, that is, free Una's parents and people from the dragon, he will "shortly backe returne unto this place, To walke this way in pilgrims poore estate."<sup>14</sup> This, needless to say, is completely forgotten at the end of the book. Red Cross is, instead, betrothed to Una and returns to court "To serve againe his soveraine Elfin Queene."<sup>15</sup> Of course, as a human being, Red Cross may simply have forgotten his promise, but, as the representative of Holiness, he should not have forgotten what practically amounted to a holy vow, and the natural conclusion is that it was Spenser who forgot.

Considerably harder to explain is the way in which Red Cross holds forth before the assembled guests at the banquet celebrating the slaying of the dragon. Reminiscent of a Ulysses or an Aeneas, Red Cross yields to the demand of his host, who, it must be remarked, is his prospective father-in-law, and

. . . with utt'rance grave, and count'nance sad,  
From poynt to poynt, as is before exprest,  
Discourst his voyage long, according his request.<sup>16</sup>

All one can conclude is that Red Cross must have been a master of suppression, for when the messenger, only a short time later, brings in the accusatory letter signed "Fidessa," it is perfectly clear that Una's father has never heard of any Fidessa nor even apparently of Duesza, and Red Cross, rather lamely and with the corroboration of Una, has to go over this part of the story again in order to prove his good faith and expose this final trick on the part of his enemies. How any straightforward "poynt to poynt" recapitulation of Red Cross's adventures could omit all reference to Fidessa and Duesza is pretty hard to see, and yet that is apparently what Red Cross has accomplished, and right there in the very presence of Una. One naturally sympathizes with Red Cross in his predicament—he had been through some rather discreditable adventures during his separation

<sup>14</sup> *FQ*, I, x, 64.

<sup>15</sup> *FQ*, II, i, 2.

<sup>16</sup> *FQ*, I, xii, 15.

from Una, and at one time had been so ashamed of them as to be saved with some difficulty from suicide. What man, one may inquire, would freely and of his own accord, in family conclave assembled, expatiate to the parents, friends, and retainers of his sweetheart on how he had been led astray by the wiles of an enchantress? And what was Una doing all the while that her lover was so gravely recounting his experiences and carefully leaving out the main point? Was she blushing with shame over his lack of truthfulness, or had the pair previously reached a tacit understanding that there were certain matters in his past history that she herself wholly understood and forgave, but which it would be just as well to keep still about? Those to whom it may not seem a pleasant picture, this spectacle of Truth and Holiness conniving to suppress the truth, may point with satisfaction to the circumstance that the whole truth has to be revealed before the plot of Duessa and Archimago can be overthrown and the ceremonial of betrothal take place. Indeed, it might be argued plausibly that Spenser has deliberately contrived his story so as to expose Red Cross (and to some extent Una herself) in one more very human weakness before attaining a final triumph. Opposed to this too ingenious explanation, however, is Spenser's explicit statement that Red Cross's first telling of his adventures is "from poynt to poynt, as is before exprest," that is, in every particular just as it has already been set down in the earlier cantos of *The Faerie Queene*. If Spenser means this literally, someone has been nodding—whether it was Una's father or Spenser the reader must decide for himself.

Probably these three incidents, all of them from Book One, are not indications of willful duplicity on the part of Red Cross and Una, but merely minor inconsistencies which Spenser never troubled to straighten out. The case of Britomart in Book Three is entirely different. Her deviations from complete veracity are undoubtedly willful, but inasmuch as they are obviously not intended to work harm to anyone, they reveal nothing more serious than a certain feminine capriciousness that may even be commended on the ground that it makes her more like a flesh and blood woman and less like an allegorical abstraction.

For example, Britomart gives one account of her early life, and Spenser, as story-teller, gives another. She tells Red Cross:

'Faire sir, I let you weete, that from the howre  
I taken was from nourses tender pap,  
I have been trained up in warlike stowre,  
To tossen spear and shield, and to affrap  
The warlike ryder to his most mishap:  
Sithence I loathed have my life to lead,  
As ladies wont, in pleasures wanton lap,  
To finger the fine needle and nyce thread;  
Me lever were with point of foeman's spear be dead.'<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *FQ*, III, ii, 6.

This boastful statement is refuted by the very next canto, wherein Spenser relates that Britomart was tall and large of limb before her nurse Glaucé "in her foolhardy wit" conceived the bold device of disguising herself and the girl in "feigned armes" and exercising with their weak hands "the dreadful speare and shield."<sup>18</sup> That this is not simply another of our poet's inaccuracies in narrative detail seems proved by Britomart's readiness to tamper with the truth in other connections. She has hardly finished presenting Red Cross with this too imaginative story of her past life when she eagerly seeks from him

Tydings of one, that both unto me donne  
Late foul dishonour and reprocheful spight,  
The which I seeke to wreake, and Arthegall he hight.<sup>19</sup>

Now this is outright falsehood, for she has never laid eyes upon Arthegall except in a magic mirror, and it is solely because she is so madly in love with him that she and Glaucé have gone forth on their quest. What saves her story from malignancy is that she knows Red Cross is also a Faery Knight and hence well acquainted with the man she loves, too well acquainted, indeed, to permit her accusation to go unchallenged. What she is really after is evident as soon as Red Cross launches into the praises of Arthegall, for then

The royall maid waxe inly wondrous glad,  
To heare her love so highly magnifyde.<sup>20</sup>

Britomart is similarly capricious in her behavior to Amoret soon after she has rescued the latter from the House of Busirane. Because Amoret does not suspect the sex of the knight that has delivered her, she is torn between conflicting emotions of gratitude for deliverance and fear that her rescuer may expect too much favor as reward:

Thereto her feare was made so much the greater  
Through fine abusion of that Briton mayd:  
Who, for to hide her fained sex the better  
And maske her wounded mind, both did and sayd  
Full many things so doubtfull to be wayd,  
That well she wist not what by them to gesse;  
For other whiles to her she purpos made  
Of love, and otherwhiles of lustfulnesse,  
That much she feard his mind would grow to some excesse.<sup>21</sup>

Though this may not be the behavior one expects from the exemplar of Chastity, such mischievous teasing of Amoret is perfectly reconcilable with the sort of baiting that Britomart has earlier meted out

<sup>18</sup> *FQ*, III, iii, 52.

<sup>19</sup> *FQ*, III, ii, 8. It will be noted that Spenser is not consistent in his spelling of this hero's name.

<sup>20</sup> Stanza 11.

<sup>21</sup> *FQ*, IV, i, 7.

to Red Cross. Spenser's lady knight is thus several degrees removed from a bloodless abstraction of virtue; she is a human personality with amusing foibles of her own. Possibly she owes something of her cavalier attitude toward a too precise veracity to her childhood training by Glauce, for it will be remembered that, when the two visit the cave of Merlin, Glauce attempts to hoodwink the magician as to their real objective:

Therewith th' enchaunter softly gan to smyle  
At her smooth speeches, weeting inly well  
That she to him dissembled womanish guyle.<sup>22</sup>

The last two words just quoted afford the best clue to Spenser's characterization of Britomart as a tamperer with the truth. Even with her many excellent qualities, she could, to his way of thinking, scarcely be both representatively feminine and completely truthful, and it was more important for his purpose that she be the one than the other.

The other instances of virtuous duplicity to be gleaned from *The Faerie Queene* more closely resemble those cited by Professor Judson and Professor Osgood. None is the result of mere whimsicality, and in each case a worthy object is at stake.

First and foremost is the notable example of the palmer, who, when he finds Sir Guyon lying in a swoon as the result of the three days and nights spent in Mammon's cave, first satisfies himself that the knight is not really dead and then stands guard over him. Almost immediately appear the hot-headed brethren, Pyrocles and Cymocles, who are seeking Guyon to revenge themselves upon him. Seeing their enemy lying prostrate, they hastily jump to the conclusion that he is dead, and Pyrocles calls upon the palmer to abandon "the caytive spoil Of that same outcast carcas," for they are of a mind to strip Guyon of his armor. The palmer answers craftily:

'Certes, sir knight, ye bene too much to blame,  
Thus for to blot the honour of the dead,  
And with fowle cowardize his carcas shame,  
Whose living hands immortalized his name.  
Vile is the vengeance on the ashes cold,  
And envy base, to bark at sleeping fame.'<sup>23</sup>

To be sure, the palmer does not tell Pyrocles and Cymocles that Guyon is dead; they have already deceived themselves, and he merely encourages them in their self-deception. Still, who can doubt that here is the sort of occasion for which the lie direct would be justifiable if ever at all? By his resourcefulness the palmer delays proceedings long enough for Prince Arthur to appear and slay the miscreants.

<sup>22</sup> *FQ*, III, iii, 17.

<sup>23</sup> *FQ*, II, viii, 13.

Twice in Book Six, as Professor Judson has shown, Prince Arthur himself resorts to deception to bring about the defeat of an enemy. Early in Book Three he uses it upon his friend, Sir Guyon, this time for diplomatic and prudential reasons. Guyon has just been roughly unhorsed by the enchanted spear of Britomart and is angrily bent upon revenge. Both the palmer and Prince Arthur realize, however, that the stranger's weapon bears some secret virtue, and in his own interest they hasten to mollify him. Thus the Prince attributes the blame

. . . not to his carriage  
But to his starting steed, that swarv'd asyde,  
And to the ill purveyance of his page,  
That had his furnitures not firmly tyde:  
So is his angry corage fayrly pacifyde.<sup>24</sup>

Thus one may, with considerable justification, practice deception upon one's friends in order to render them a service. In this instance Guyon's injured esteem is soothed, he is preserved from further harm, and reconciliation is effected between two worthy knights.

To round off this enumeration we must note one more instance of virtuous dissimulation which has previously been overlooked in Book Six. There is to be found the beautiful shepherdess, Pastorella, who is carried away and held captive by a band of robbers. When the captain of the band quite sincerely falls in love with her, she makes some show of granting him favor, but feigns a sudden illness in order to preserve her chastity.<sup>25</sup>

Thus a certain disposition to employ deception in a good cause is observable in Spenser's most virtuous characters, not merely in the Book of Courtesy, but throughout *The Faerie Queene*. Except in the single instance of Sir Calidore's chivalrous protection of Priscilla's good name, it hardly seems a matter of courtesy at all, but rather of practical workaday ethics in a world in which human beings fully conscious of their own virtuous purposes manipulate the truth for worthy (or at least harmless) ends. Not one of the deceptions we have observed is calculated to work actual harm to any good person, though it is significant how many of them are employed against enemies. Milton, to whom "sage and serious" Spenser seemed pre-eminent as a moral teacher, quotes in his essay *Of Christian Doctrine* the "trite" saying: *Cui nullam est ius, ei nulla fit iniuria* (if a man has no right, to him no injury is done). Continuing, Milton asserts that "falsehood is incurred when anyone, from a dishonest motive, either perverts the truth, or utters what is false to one to whom it is his duty to speak the truth."<sup>26</sup> Obviously, neither Spenser nor Milton

<sup>24</sup> *FQ*, III, i, 11.

<sup>25</sup> *FQ*, VI, xi, 6-7.

<sup>26</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, 13.

believes that a virtuous man, because of his virtue, is obligated always to speak the truth to his enemies.

But what about the stern and unequivocal reproach that Sir Artegall casts upon Bourbon for abandoning his shield of the true faith with the intention of resuming it later on? In the face of so much evidence to the contrary, we can hardly accuse Spenser of a fanatical insistence upon an inflexible standard of veracity in all the situations of human life. Bourbon's behavior is offensive, therefore, not because he has temporized, but because he has temporized about the wrong thing. For the sake of a fleeting political expediency he has denied and misrepresented his convictions on the eternal verities of religion, the subject on which, above all, it was his sacred obligation to his subjects and to his God to speak the truth.

Finally, as a champion of the English Church, Spenser might well be concerned over Bourbon's defection from the Protestant cause and sufficiently anxious as to its outcome to put into the mouth of Sir Artegall the gloomy prediction that "Of all things, to dissemble foully may befall." As a matter of sober historical fact, the French king never did resume his Protestant faith, and it was his own daughter, the staunchly Roman Catholic Henrietta Maria, who, as queen-consort to Charles I, was to constitute the chief threat to English Protestantism in the first half of the succeeding century.

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## SOME LIGHT ON THE JEW OF MALTA

By LEO KIRSCHBAUM

Some scholars hold that the text of *The Jew of Malta* which we have today is not the text which Marlowe composed, and that the third and fourth acts have undergone drastic revision, perhaps even augmentation.<sup>1</sup> If it could be shown that the friar scenes in these acts were already in the play in 1592, believers in its textual integrity would have some definite ammunition with which to cope with the attacks of these disintegrators.

<sup>1</sup> The first record we have of the play is its entry, as not new, by Henslowe on February 26, 1592. He records thirty-five performances between this date and June 21, 1596 (*Henslowe's Diary*, ed. W. W. Greg [London, 1904], fols. 7-10<sup>v</sup>, 14-15<sup>v</sup>, 21<sup>v</sup>). In an *Eventary taken of all properties for my Lord Admeralles men, the 10 of March, 1598* is found "Item, j caudern for the Jewe" (*Henslowe Papers*, ed. W. W. Greg [London, 1907], p. 118). The play was revived in 1601, for on May 19 of that year Henslowe lent the above-named company five pounds, ten shillings "to bye divers thinges for the Jewe of Malta" (*Diary*, fol. 87). In or before 1632, it was acted at court with a prologue and an epilogue by Thomas Heywood, and at the Cockpit with a prologue by the same dramatist. The play had been entered in the *Stationers' Register* on May 17, 1594, by Ling and Millington (Arber, II, 650), but apparently was not printed. Vavasour reentered it on November 20, 1632 (Arber, IV, 288) and published it the next year with an epistle dedicatory by Heywood and with Heywood's prologues and epilogue.

The 1598 listing of the cauldron indicates that the fifth act was then the same as it is in the extant text. But since the middle of the last century, the integrity of this text has been constantly assailed:

(1) Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries*, 2nd ed. (London, 1843), II, 170. The first two acts are excellent.

(2) Alexander Dyce, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1850), I, xxi. The last three acts are very inferior to the first two.

(3) Wilhelm Wagner, *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XI (1876), 74-75. Heywood revised the play; his hand is obvious in the fourth act.

(4) A. H. Bullen, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1885), I, xl-xli. Marlowe was not the author of the last three acts in their present state.

(5) O. Fischer, *Zur Charakteristik der Dramen Marlowes* (München, 1889). Webster could have written the last three acts.

(6) F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (London, 1891), I, 298; II, 61-62. Heywood composed the courtesan and friar scenes; he employed the friar plot again in *The Captives*.

(7) A. W. Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, rev. ed. (London and New York, 1899), I, 339. The last three acts were revised—perhaps by Heywood.

(8) Gregory Smith, *CHEL* (1933 ed.), V, 163. We must not swallow the revision thesis too easily.

(9) Tucker Brooke, *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (Oxford and New York, 1910), pp. 232-33. The 1633 text is extremely corrupt; however changed, the last three acts represent Marlowe's original plot.

(10) Philipp Aronstein, "Thomas Heywood," *Anglia*, XXXVII (1913), 187-88, 255. Heywood wrote the Bellamira and friar scenes.

(11) A. C. Judson, ed., *The Captives* (New Haven, 1921), p. 165. The cur-



The most famous lines in the play are probably those in which Barabas describes his past deeds to Ithamore:

As for myself, I walk abroad a nights  
And kill sick people groaning under walls:  
Sometimes I go about and poison wells;  
And now and then, to cherish Christian thieves,  
I am content to lose some of my crowns,  
That I may, walking in my gallery,  
See 'em go pinion'd along by my door.

rency of the fabliau upon which both *The Jew of Malta* and *The Captives* drew makes it extremely doubtful that Heywood was responsible for the friar scenes in *The Jew of Malta*.

(12) Margaret Thimme, "Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta,' Stil- und Echtheitsfragen," *Studien zur Englischen Philologie*, LXI (Halle, 1921). Marlowe's hand is to be seen throughout—in meter, diction, and syntax.

(13) Tucker Brooke, "The Marlowe Canon," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 385-86. The third and fourth acts are suspect; the alien hand is Heywood's.

(14) U. M. Ellis-Fermor, *Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1927), pp. 97-104. Marlowe wrote the plot; some other hand was responsible for the third and fourth acts.

(15) A. M. Clark, *Thomas Heywood, Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 290-94. The friar and courtesan scenes are by Heywood.

(16) H. S. Bennett, ed. *The Jew of Malta and 'The Massacre at Paris,' in The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe*, gen. ed., R. H. Case (New York, 1931), pp. 8-9, 15-19. There is something to be said for the Heywood hypothesis.

(17) John Bakeless, *Christopher Marlowe, The Man in His Time* (New York, 1937), p. 171. Marlowe's original text was mangled by later hands—one of which may have been Heywood's.

(18) M. B. Smith, *Marlowe's Imagery and the Marlowe Canon* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 117-19. Heywood or someone else touched up the whole and thoroughly revised the last half.

(19) F. S. Boas, *Christopher Marlowe, A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford and New York, 1940), pp. 130-40. The extant text is substantially as Marlowe wrote it.

(20) John Bakeless, *The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), I, 333-34. The play as we have it could be all Marlowe's; Heywood may have made a few touches.

The disintegrators begin with subjective dissatisfaction. They see deterioration in Barabas' characterization. Yet E. E. Stoll's careful analysis of Barabas in *Shakespeare Studies* (New York, 1927), pp. 270-71, does not at all distinguish between his characterization in the first two acts and in the rest of the play. Critics see Barabas change into a monster in his self-description to Ithamore (II, iii, 175-202, quoted in the present article); they take this passage as truthful autobiography. But Ward (*op. cit.*, I, 342) and Boyer (*The Villain as Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy* [London and New York, 1914], p. 8) see it as manufactured fiction meant to impress and test the comic-villain, Ithamore.

Subjective impressions, unfortunately, are weak evidence in textual criticism. My own, for what they are worth, are these: The play is well integrated and skillfully plotted (see Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 338). Its action after the first two acts is very rapid. When the highly melodramatic plot really gets going, Marlowe flings fine poetry overboard. Barabas is consistent throughout; he is a monster from beginning to end—but a purposive egoistic monster; everything he does is to revenge, to augment, or to protect himself. The Ward-Boyer hypothesis that the self-description to Ithamore is not to be taken seriously is correct. That the play as it stands is rousing theatre is attested by Bakeless' reference to Lewis Terry in the Williams College acting version (1909), pp. xvi, xviii (*Christopher Marlowe, The Man in His Time*, p. 177).

Being young, I studied physick, and began  
 To practise first upon the Italian;  
 There I enrich'd the priests with burials,  
 And always kept the sexton's arms in ure  
 With digging graves and ringing dead men's knells:  
 And after that, was I an engineer,  
 And in the wars 'twixt France and Germany,  
 Under pretence of helping Charles the Fifth,  
 Slew friend and enemy with my stratagems:  
 Then, after that, was I an usurer,  
 And with extorting, cozening, forfeiting,  
 And tricks belonging unto brokery,  
 I fill'd the gaols with bankrouths in a year,  
 And with young orphans planted hospitals;  
 And every moon made some or other mad.  
 And now and then one hang himself for grief,  
 Pinning upon his breast a long great scroll  
 How I with interest tormented him.  
 But mark how I am blest for plaguing them;  
 I have as much coin as will buy the town.  
 But tell me now, how hast thou spent thy time?

(II, iii, 175-202)<sup>2</sup>

It has been noted that Aaron's catalogue of crimes in *Titus Andronicus*, V, i, 124-44, is a palpable imitation of the above speech.<sup>3</sup> *Titus Andronicus* was first printed in 1594. "The first unmistakable allusion to the play is found in *A Knack to Know a Knave*, acted by Strange's men as 'new' on June 10, 1592."<sup>4</sup> Here are Aaron's lines:

Lucius.

Art thou not sorrie for these heinous deeds.

Aron.

I that I had not done a thousand more,  
 Euen now I curse the day and yet I thinke  
 Fewe come, within the compasse of my curse,  
 Wherein I did not some notorious ill.  
 As kill a man, or els deuise his death,  
 Rauish a maide, or plot the waie to doe it,  
 Accuse some innocent, and forswear my selfe,  
 Set deadly enmitie betweene two friends,  
 Make poore mens cattle breake their necks,  
 Set fire on barnes and haystalks in the night,  
 And bid the owners quench them with their teares:  
 Oft haue I digd vp dead men from their graues,  
 And set them vpriight at their deare friends dore,  
 Euen when their sorrowes almost was forgot,

<sup>2</sup> H. S. Bennett, ed., *The Jew of Malta*.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Bullen, ed., *The Works of Christopher Marlowe* (London, 1885), II, 48; Edward Meyer, *Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama*, Literar-historische Forschungen, I (Weimar, 1897), 52.

<sup>4</sup> J. Q. Adams, ed., *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus, The First Quarto, 1594* (New York and London, 1936), p. 10.

And on their skinnies as on the barke of trees,  
Haue with my knife carued in Romaine letters,  
Let not your sorrow die though I am dead,  
But I haue done a thousand dreadfull things,  
As willingly as one would kill a flie,  
And nothing grieues me hartelie indeede,  
But that I cannot doe ten thousand more.

In this passage we hear of dead men being set upright at a door. In *The Jew of Malta* the climax of the friar scenes is Barabas' and Ithamore's setting the dead Friar Barnardine upright against the house (IV, ii). Is it merely coincidence that such a device occurs in Aaron's list of villainies which imitates Barabas' list of villainies? Or did the author of *Titus Andronicus*, while imitating Barabas' speech, also include among Aaron's crimes one of the villainies which the Jew accomplished *coram populo*?

If coincidence is ruled out, then the friar scenes were in *The Jew of Malta* in 1592. And the text as we have it must substantially be as Marlowe left it.

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## HAMLET'S SOLILOQUY

By GEORGE L. BARNETT

Parallels to the thought and expression of lines in Hamlet's "To be, or not to be" soliloquy have been noted in the work of many of Shakespeare's predecessors. The authors cited belong to many times and to many countries; they range from Marlowe to Montaigne and from Cardan to Cornelius Agrippa and Seneca. The implication is that the Bard of Avon recalled, either consciously or subconsciously, these written expressions of thoughts on the subjects touched upon in the famous soliloquy and wove their phrases into his texture, shaping and adjusting the product with his own inimitable skill.

It is, of course, untenable to imagine that there is a source or modifying influence for every line in Hamlet's speech. At the same time, it is undeniably true that Shakespeare, like most authors, retained striking phrases and, even more often, interesting ideas from his reading, and that on expressing himself on the same thought sometimes incorporated them as his own. Such recasting or borrowing of phrase is difficult of proof, but I do not wish to dispute the claims of those who would believe that Shakespeare drew odds and ends of phrasing from various authors before his time. However, it will be observed that these so-called parallels are limited to phrases or a line or two at the most. I am not aware that anyone has suggested a single parallel or suggestive influence for the entire soliloquy. Furthermore, a good case for a parallel depends in part on the supposition that the author has read the work involved, and the closer in time to his own production that he has read this work, the more satisfactory the case. It is very doubtful if it can ever be proved *when* Shakespeare read particular lines by Marlowe, Montaigne, or any of the others.

I wish to point out here a book published in 1600 which contains several close verbal parallels and many thought parallels to the famous soliloquy. This was not an original composition but one of the many compilations then current of selections of poetry. I refer to *Belvedere, or The Garden of the Muses*,<sup>1</sup> compiled by John Bodenham, who was famous for this kind of book and who was the compiler, also in the same year, of the well-known *England's Helicon*. The popularity of *Belvedere* is indicated by the fact that a second edition appeared ten years later. Even if this had not been one of the most popular of a popular type of book, there is further

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by Spenser Society, vol. 17 (Manchester, 1875).

evidence for supposing that William Shakespeare looked into it, for in his address "To the Reader" Bodenham lists him among the authors from whom he has picked the flowers for his Garden.

John Bodenham limited his extracts to one and two lines which he grouped according to subject. The titles of these groups are: "Of God," "Of Conscience," "Of Truth," and "Of" a great many other similar abstract subjects. The authors of the multitude of extracts are not given, except in the prefatory list just mentioned.

So far as we know, the composition of *Hamlet* began in 1601.<sup>2</sup> At any rate it was entered on the *Stationers' Register* July 26, 1602, and was published in 1603. Therefore, assuming *Belvedere* (1600) to have come to Shakespeare's attention, any impression it made on him was certainly fresh during the time he was writing Hamlet's "To be, or not to be." The similarity of thought of several lines in the two sections entitled "Of Life" and "Of Death" to the whole tenor of Hamlet's soliloquy suggests strongly that Shakespeare had read those sections not long before he wrote his lines.

One couplet typical of the thought in the two sections noted reads:

Death is the keye, which unlocks miserie,  
And lets the soule to blessed libertie ("Of Death").

This idea of the blessings of death as compared to the woes of life is also expressed in several other lines:

Death to the wretched, is both grace and gaine ("Of Death").  
We aske deaths aid, to end lifes wretchednesse ("Of Life").  
Though death be poore, it ends a world of woe ("Of Death").  
Death which ends care . . . ("Of Death").

The list could be trebled, but this is enough to show that Hamlet's consideration of death as "a consummation devoutly to be wish'd" when compared to "the heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks" is the theme running through most of these two sections of extracts in *Belvedere*.

Of course, this similarity in thought is meaningless by itself, but mention of it has paved the way to a revelation of the similarity in phrase between individual lines as well:

To be, or not to be: that is the question.

Compare these lines from "Of Life":

To live or dye, which of the twaine is better,  
When life is sham'd, and death reproches debter?

<sup>2</sup> "In the same year [1601] *Hamlet* began to take shape in Shakespeare's imagination" (Georg Brandes, *William Shakespeare, A Critical Study* [New York, 1898], II, 2).

As for the phrase "To be," note:

Better not be, than being, soone to die ("Of Life").

"To sleep: perchance to dream," muses Hamlet, and he continues: "For in that sleep of death what dreams may come. . . ." In "Of Life" we find:

The good doe live, as if they lived not:  
And die, as if their death were but a dreame.

And a line in "Of Death" contains the exact phrase used by Hamlet:

As sleepe deprives the memorie of paines,  
So sleepe of death ends all our wretchednes.

Farther on Hamlet speaks of the respect "That makes calamity of so long life," and a line from "Of Life" reads:

The longer life, the greater is our guilt.

In the same section appears the couplet:

Long use of life, is as a lingering foe,  
And gentle death the onely end of woe.

Hamlet's "whips and scorns of time" suggest captivity, which is mentioned twice in "Of Life":

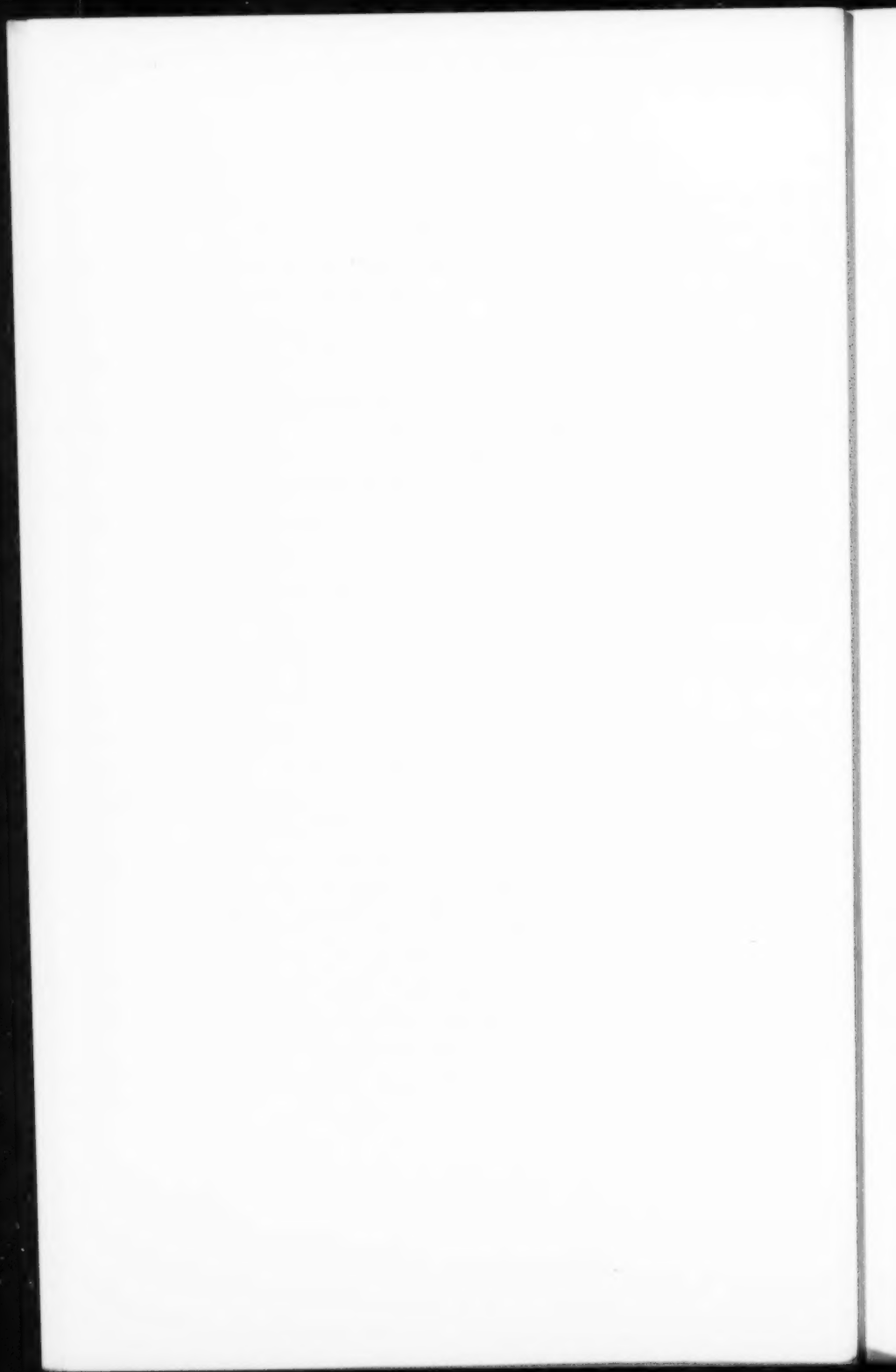
Hate not thy life, but loath captivitie  
Death is most lovely, sweet, and amiable,  
But captiv'd life, for foulnesse admirable.

Finally, in comparison with Hamlet's "pangs of despised love," we find the phrase "pangs of death" in "Of Death"; and in "Of Life":

Life is most loath'd where love may not prevaile.

It is true that the comparison of Life and Death in the soliloquy and in the two sections of *Belvedere* was not unusual, but rather quite common, in the Renaissance, and I do not wish to be understood as implying that these two sections form the specific source of Shakespeare's lines. Still, the similarity of phrasing as well as of thought, together with the fact that Shakespeare very probably perused these sections of extracts in *Belvedere*, suggests that behind some of the familiar thoughts and phrasing in Hamlet's soliloquy lies the impression made by this miscellany on the poet's inner consciousness.

*Indiana University*





## TOUCHSTONE IN ARDEN

### AS YOU LIKE IT, II, iv, 16

By HELGE KÖKERITZ

When the runaway trio Rosalind, Celia, and Touchstone eventually arrive in the Forest of Arden, their spirits and legs are weary. The escape from the palace has not, however, exhausted Touchstone's power of wit, for his second speech in the fourth scene of Act 2 is a string of quibbles. Then in reply to Rosalind's remark, "Well, this is the Forest of Arden," he exclaims (according to the Folio text): "I, now am I in *Arden*, the more foole I, when I was at home, I was in a better place, but Travellers must be content."

This last speech of his is something of an anticlimax to his previous witticisms. The reader who expects Touchstone to be true to character and to deliver still another sally at least, is disappointed with these lines which seemingly yield no wordplay. Some modern editors<sup>1</sup> have therefore adopted the suggestion by Upton in 1746 which is cited as follows in the New Variorum Edition (p. 86): "The Clown, agreeable to his character, is in a punning vein, and replys thus, 'Ay, now I am in *a den*,' &c." This is unfortunate, because phonologically it is hardly possible for *a den* to have been a homonym of *Arden* even in Shakespeare's time. Such a pun would, in the first place, involve a very early loss of *r* before *d*, of which there is scanty evidence except in a few isolated and very common words, and secondly, the deliberate pronunciation of the syllable *-den* with a full vowel instead of with a syllabic *n*.

Yet I am convinced that a pun is intended here. The word we need is not *a den* but *harden* (hearden, hurden < OE *heordan*),<sup>2</sup> a coarse fabric made from the hards of flax or hemp, sack-cloth. We know that when Rosalind and Celia slipped away from the palace they had disguised themselves completely. Doubtless they had also persuaded Touchstone to exchange his motley for, or cover it with, a *harden*

<sup>1</sup> *The Warwick Shakespeare*, AYLI, ed. J. C. Smith (London, 1893-98), p. 134; *Selected Plays of Shakespeare*, ed. Karl J. Holzknecht and Norman E. McClure (New York, 1936-1937), III, 191; *The New Clarendon Shakespeare*, AYLI, ed. Isabel J. Bisson (Oxford, 1941), p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> In Elizabethan English, initial *h* was frequently not pronounced; see H. C. Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English* (London, 1936), p. 294 ff., and my paper, "Two Sets of Shakespearean Homophones," *RES*, XIX (1943), 359; to the two cases of the pun on *hour-whore* discussed in that paper, I am now able to add a third, from the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, II, ii, 39: "Quickley: I'll be sworn, As my mother was the first hour I was born. *Falstaff*: I do believe the swearer."

smock in order to escape unnoticed. Such harden smocks were regularly worn by country people in olden times, as may be seen from these quotations from *NED*: "A hardyn apperon" (1522), "The hurden smock with lockram upper-bodies" (1652), "The country-fellow appears genteel . . . when he is hedging in his hurden frock" (1763); see also the numerous quotations in Wright's *EDD* under *harden*.

To be sure, there is no definite indication that a pun *Arden-harden* was intended. Nevertheless, the reader cannot help feeling that the writer meant something more than the printed passage actually conveys. How often, indeed, does Shakespeare indicate, either orthographically or contextually, that he is yielding to his foible of quibbling? There are virtually hundreds of phonetic or homonymic puns in his plays—not counting the very numerous cases of sense quibbling and ambiguity through free association<sup>3</sup>—but most of them appear totally unheralded and have often been skillfully concealed in commonplace statements. If one of two homonymous words occurs in a Shakespearean passage, where the coherence would be improved by a play on the other word, then strong probability favors the assumption that such quibbling was intended. A case in point is the suggested pun *Arden-harden*. It may be objected, of course, that in scene 7 of the same act, where Jaques, in high spirits, relates his first encounter with Touchstone, the latter is referred to in these terms:

A Foole, a foole: I met a foole i' th' Forrest,  
A motley Foole . . .  
. . . When I did heare  
The motley Foole, thus morall on the time. . . .  
(II, vii, 12-29)

However, this reference to motley does not in any way invalidate my suggestion that Touchstone was disguised or had discarded his professional costume when first entering the Forest of Arden. Some time must have elapsed between scene 4 and scene 7, though no one has been able to determine how much. If the fool had covered his motley with a harden smock before stealing away from the palace, he may very well have dropped it again immediately on settling down in Arden. Or, what is even more likely, Shakespeare may simply have forgotten when writing scene 7 that Touchstone was no longer in motley. Or again, Jaques may be using the cliché "a motley fool" without any direct application of the term to Touchstone's outward appearance.

Positive evidence of Touchstone's disguise or of his change of garb cannot be adduced, but there are two passages in the fourth scene which seem to lend support to my interpretation. One is the

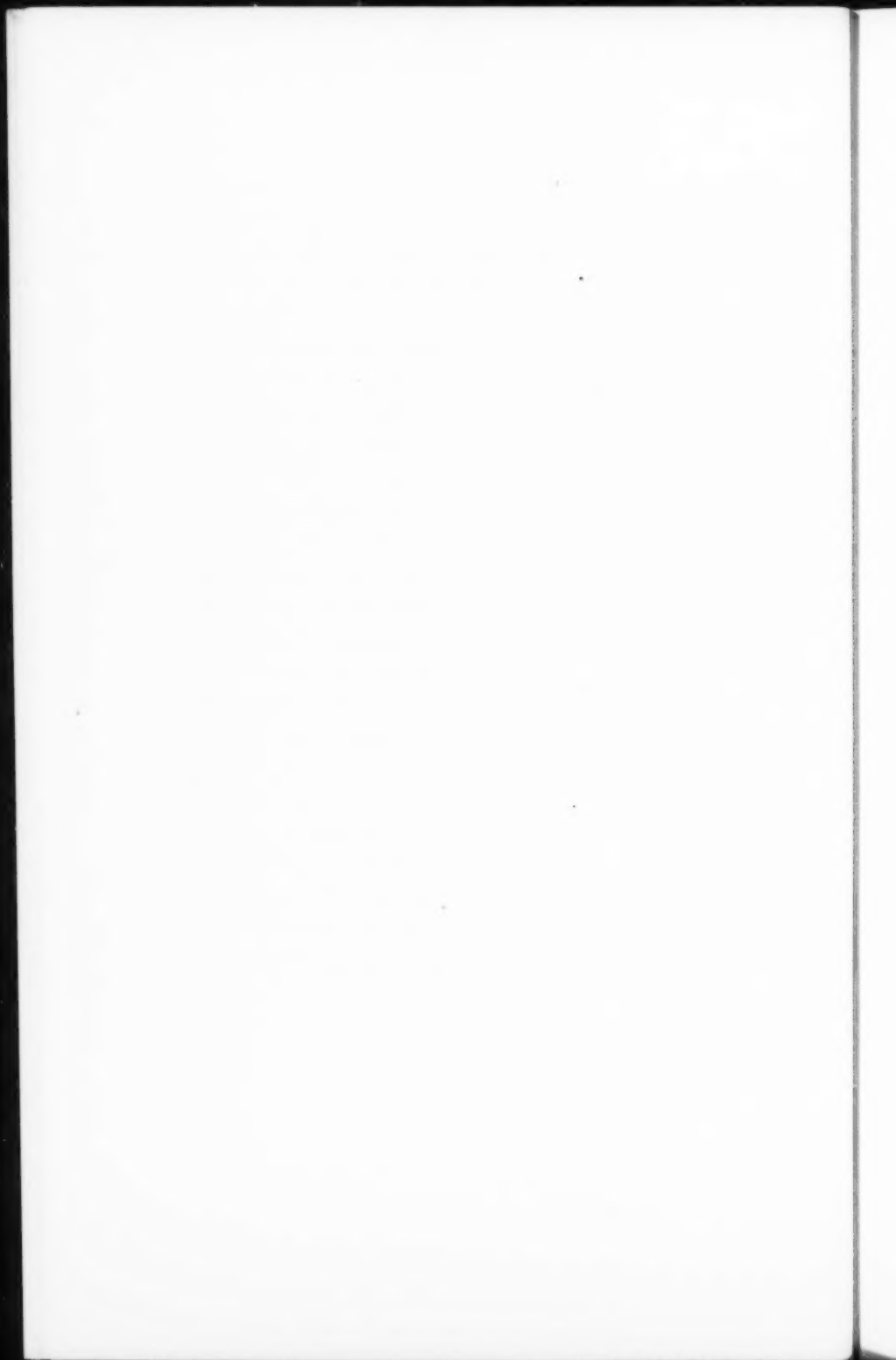
<sup>3</sup> For the use of these terms, see A. H. King, "Some Notes on Ambiguity in *Henry IV*, Part I," *Studia Neophilologica*, XIV (1941), 161 ff.

puzzling stage direction which reads: "Enter Rosaline for Ganimed, Celia for Aliena, and Clowne, alias Touchstone." Why did Shakespeare write "alias Touchstone"? The fool has not been referred to by that name earlier in the play. Dover Wilson wonders, therefore, whether "Touchstone" was originally intended to be an assumed name like Ganymede.<sup>4</sup> But in that case, why did Shakespeare not use the preposition *for*, as in the two other instances? There must be a special reason for this discrepancy. Perhaps Shakespeare did not invent the name until he had reached scene 4. For all we know his intention may then have been to use it throughout the play instead of the generic term *clown*, though he apparently forgot to make the necessary change. The obvious corollary of this hypothesis would be that the word *clown* in the stage direction does not mean "fool," but has its primary sense of "rustic, country bumpkin," just as it has in lines 66-67 (our second passage), where Touchstone calls out to Corin: "Holla, you clown." To this Rosalind remarks wittily: "Peace fool!, he's not thy kinsman." She is not only quibbling on the two connotations of *clown*, but she is also reminding Touchstone, in an indirect or negative way, of his present changed status. On the other hand, the use of the phrase "alias Touchstone" may merely imply that the clown, before running away, had discarded his professional uniform altogether and resumed his original name and status. Whatever interpretation of *alias* we prefer, we are forced to the conclusion that motley was not Touchstone's wear when he arrived in the Forest of Arden. Very likely he had put on a harden smock.

This pun *Arden-harden* lends flavor to an otherwise trite passage. We can fully relish Touchstone's dismay or disgust when he rejoined, no doubt with appropriate gestures: "Ay, now am I in (h)Arden, the more fool I." From a professional jester at a duke's court he had been degraded to a simple country clown. In his harden smock he was a fool in a clown's garb—in other words, he was "more fool," a greater fool, than before. When he was at home, he had been in a better place—probably a play on the two connotations of *place*, viz., "position" and "locality"—but now as a traveler (a quibble, no doubt, on *travailler*, laborer), he had to be content with life.

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<sup>4</sup> *As You Like It*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 115, 125.



## ANTONIO MONTUCCI

*By* SIR HENRY MCANALLY

In the eighteenth century there passed into Great Britain considerable numbers of teachers of the Italian language and literature. Some of them became absorbed and never went back. Others remained, denized themselves there for substantial periods, and then, when declined into the vale of years, returned. One may recall the name of Gaetano Polidori, whose son J. W. became Byron's body physician for the tour in Greece, and one of whose daughters gave England Christina, Dante Gabriel, and W. M. Rossetti. He himself established many contacts; he set up a private printing press, and at this the early poems of Christina, her first volume, were published. He also had some reputation as a writer. Before he came to England, he had been for a few years private secretary to Vittorio Alfieri, and in one of his books (not easily come by) he has left some first-hand impressions of that great man. To those interested in Alfieri this information is not unfamiliar. But attention does not seem to have been paid, in a similar connection, to Antonio Montucci, who was another of those professors of Italian who came to England, as part of the second invasion, after 1786.

Montucci was a native of Siena. He was born in 1762, and he lost his father, who was a doctor, when five years old; his maternal grandfather was a painter and a Buonfigli. As a youth he displayed a warmhearted disposition, a mind of great versatility, and exceptional gifts for philological studies; he was also devoted to fencing, dancing, and drawing. Thus equipped by nature he overcame the obstacles fate had put in his way, and, obtaining a scholarship, he was able to enter the College Mancini (University of Siena), where he pursued the study of law, ending in 1785 with the degree of doctor. But he also studied "living" languages, and, when about 23 years of age, became professor of English at the Tolomei college. In 1786 he went to Florence with some Englishmen to whom he was giving lessons. Afterwards, before he left Italy, he was for a short time private secretary to the new British ambassador, Lord Harvey, but he appears not to have held this post for very long, and then, through the good offices of Josiah Wedgwood who, from England, sent him an invitation and a cheque, he was brought over there to help in ministering to the rapidly growing appetite for Italian culture, as "preceptor of the Tuscan language" and "to enjoy [to use his own words] the happiness of living in this blissful land of freedom."

It was in 1789 that he came. He was at first, it would seem, employed in the "good" families to which Wedgwood had introduced him. In 1791 (which was the year of Alfieri's fourth visit to this country) Montucci was in London (his address he gives simply as "Pancras"), and he called to wait upon the great man. He did not see him, but left for him a copy of what was his first publication. He tells us that Alfieri was living in Lower Seymour street; this detail, which is otherwise unknown, is valuable also in the confirmation it supplies of Alfieri having in July-September visited Scotland. In his *Vita* Alfieri speaks only of having made a "giro" to Bath, Bristol, and Oxford. Montucci expresses regret—this is in 1806—that he had never come across in Scotland anyone who had either seen or known Alfieri there, a regret we too may share. Of a letter which he received from Alfieri (dated July 13, 1791), after the visit he had paid to no purpose, Montucci was extremely proud. He printed it in the *Monthly Review* in June, 1804; this was, of course, after the death of Alfieri (1803). This letter is now, it appears, in the Bibliotheca Publica at Siena. Montucci eventually returned there and probably bequeathed the original letter to his native city.

Montucci gives us several glimpses of Alfieri in Siena. Of that poet *en pantoufles*, notwithstanding that he left an autobiography, we know little. "The poet," he says, "honoured frequently the city of Siena (my native place) with his presence; and there the first edition of his inimitable tragedies appeared, under his immediate inspection, in three volumes 4to" (Alfieri's own set of this Siena edition of his tragedies is in England, in the library at Chatsworth). He supplements this general statement by telling us how "in 1783 my countrymen in Siena were daily staring at the procession of count Alfieri's sixteen English horses, led by five English grooms," and that "when, at Siena, it happened that, in one of those races (to these no horses are admitted but those of a real Arabian breed) in which horses are started, without any rider, through the largest and straitest streets of the town, a most beautiful mare, called Orizia, dropped dead in the race, owing to her spontaneous efforts of emulation. Her death was lamented by the count 'in a most beautiful sonnet.'" This is not the full extent of Montucci's reminiscences of Alfieri as a lover of horseflesh. "In 1786," he says, "I often used to meet the count at Florence standing up in his phaeton, and driving four pair of horses round the pedestal of the celebrated *centaur* by Giambologna." In this connection Montucci reprinted the "capitolo" in which Alfieri made famous his stud of horses. From this we learn the names of them all, the whole sixteen, and details of their individual characteristics, the food they liked, and the medicine which was good for them. Fortuno, Corvo, Baiardo, Rondello, Fido, Sole—"questi sei destrier,"

he says, "sono i miei occhi"; one of the attendants, probably one of the five English grooms, was "Giannino"—possibly "Johnny" when he was in England. This poem presents the poet, whom Macaulay with Victorian affectation has depreciatingly called "horse jockey," in a most pleasing light.

But Montucci had other and totally different interests; and it was the cultivation of these which brought him what in fact, ultimately and amongst savants, constituted a European reputation, i.e., as a sinologist. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several entries for him, but these are not of the rather numerous educational works he produced as an Italian teacher. They are sinological and had nothing to do with Montucci as an Alfierist nor with any pedagogic activities. From the *Monthly Magazine* we gather that in 1801 he circulated the prospectus of a project for a Chinese dictionary. He had what became, though not at first, the sound idea of making smooth, or as smooth as the inherent difficulties permitted, the path for the beginner in Chinese, for both the European and the English beginner, but principally for the latter.

This prospectus seems to have marked his emergence into public as a sinologist. We know that as a student at the university he had been what we can only call a "whale" for the study of languages. He has been described as "possédé du démon de la polyglottomanie." But it is not clear that he began Chinese when a student at Siena University, where there would probably have been no facilities. His subjects there were English and law, in the latter of which he got his doctor's degree; on his title pages he calls himself LL.D. But he did study "living languages"; and it was Chinese as a *living* language, as a medium of human intercourse rather than as a storehouse of ancient life and thought, which grasped his interest and fired his imagination.

Actually his first activity in connection with Chinese that we know of is the purchase at auction in London in 1791 of a Chinese book, a dictionary. It would have been interesting to learn what was the *causa causans* of his addiction which grew with the years into a passion. Though he has dropped by the wayside, so to speak, numerous autobiographical fragments, he has not explained this. Interest in Chinese literature had, according to a statement Montucci made in the year 1817, for half a century before 1800 been not merely dormant—the study of it was surrounded with "profound oblivion." In 1805 when the great English sinologist Robert Morrison (1782-1834) was sent to London "to pick up any knowledge of the Chinese language which he could gain," he was considered lucky to come across a young Chinaman, Yong Santag, who agreed to give him lessons in the language.



In the early 1790's it must have been no less difficult to get teaching in Chinese. But a great embassy to China, now well known as Lord Macartney's mission, was at that time being prepared in London. It embarked in September, 1792, for China on a ship of war. Sir George Staunton (d. 1801), afterwards F.R.S., accompanied the embassy as secretary, and he subsequently wrote its history. While it was in preparation, one of the difficulties was the provision of interpreters. What has been said will show the impasse this constituted. Staunton has recorded that "no man capable of that employment [i.e., as interpreter in Chinese] then existed throughout the British dominions." He set off in January, 1792, to comb Europe. Paris and Rome were drawn blank, though the Vatican had some Chinese men of letters employed in the care and examination of Chinese books and manuscripts. But at Naples there was a college which zeal for Christianity had founded for the education of young Chinamen whom the missionaries out there had contrived to get away from the country. In May, 1792, Staunton returned with two Chinamen "qualified to interpret between their native language and the Latin or Italian which the ambassador understood." Before the mission sailed, the two Chinamen were referred to for advice on what might be acceptable presents to take for the Chinese bigwigs. They also translated into Chinese the letter to be presented from the British court to the emperor of China. But here arose a difficulty. Should they write out the fair copy with their own hands, they rendered themselves "obnoxious to the laws of their country" for presuming "to interfere in any manner whatever in the politics of Europe, with respect to China"; and the penalty was capital punishment. From this predicament Montucci extricated the authorities. Having made himself "sufficiently conversant with the structure and combination of the characters," he was able to transcribe the letter, and, as it came from his hands, it was presented and later no doubt found place in the Chinese archives.

During the four months or so these Chinamen were still in London they gave lessons not only to Sir George Staunton, but also to his youthful son (11-12 years old) who was to accompany the mission as page to the ambassador. The father, though assiduous, hardly succeeded in being able to make himself understood. But the boy was so successful a learner that at the great ceremonial audience, when the emperor of China enquired whether no member of the embassy could speak Chinese, the boy was found to be the only one able to converse; he was able, we are told, to speak with fluency and to write in the native characters.

Montucci formed close relations with the two interpreters, one of whom he refers to as "my friend Paul-Cho." It would seem that even by then he was able to converse more or less effectively in Chinese.

He was of service to them, and they, in return, gave him a valuable Chinese dictionary—*Tching Tsen Thoung*. To the historic imagination this picture of the Italian in London making things easy for these Chinese and helping them over practical matters, in day-to-day contacts, is an agreeable one. The priests, before they left Naples, must have become quite conversant with Italian; it was, as we have seen, to be one of the languages they were to interpret into; and it would have been the medium, to a large extent, in which they and Montucci talked. But it is specifically recorded that his talks with them gave him an insight into the Chinese *spoken* language which was not obtainable through books.

Montucci subsequently regarded Sir George Staunton the younger, the ambassador's page during the Chinese mission, as his patron. He dedicates to him his work *A parallel between the two intended dictionaries by the Rev. Robert Morrison and Antonio Montucci*, and in the dedicatory letter prefixed he refers to the "regard with which you have honoured me for many and many years past." No doubt, Sir George Staunton senior was influential in government circles, and it may have been due to him and also to the service he had performed over the ceremonial letter that Montucci was able, as he was in 1801 if not earlier, to style himself "Occasional Chinese transcriber to His Majesty and to the Honourable East India company, London." Some years later he is still found making use of these titles.

We have no definite facts about Montucci as student of Chinese for the years between 1792 (when he was getting his all-important oral knowledge of the language) and 1801 when he first comes into public as a professed sinologist—a period of nearly ten years, at the beginning of which we know something of him in his other capacities, i.e., as a man and as a teacher. It is Alfieri who tells us, in a letter (December 29, 1792) to his Sienese friend Mario Bianchi, that Montucci was, when he last heard of him in late 1791, employed by a firm of high-class pottery manufacturers; that he was adequately remunerated, and that he had built up an excellent reputation in every respect. In the year 1804 Montucci speaks of himself as "an insignificant member of the literary world, whose abilities are confined to giving some Tuscan lessons, musing over some Chinese volumes, and reading the *Monthly Magazine* for a mental recreation." He must have done much of this musing in this long interval and made immense progress; we have seen what the youthful member of Lord Macartney's staff was able to achieve in a very few months. Of the methods of study Montucci followed not much is known, but it was from Fourmont's *Meditationes Sinicae* (which in 1792 he recommended to Sir George Staunton) that he drew most of his sustenance. He can rarely, if at all, again have had the opportunities

which the presence in London of, and his converse with, the Chinese interpreter priests gave him; and he seems rightly to have made much of this point when enumerating his qualifications. A French critic in 1808 says: "c'est à ces missionnaires qu'il a dû surtout la connoissance exacte des procédés que l'on doit suivre pour tracer les caractères, pour leur classification et leur recherche dans les dictionnaires, et dont cependant ni Fourmont ni aucun autre Européen n'a parlé."

What brought him out of his retired groove or grove? It would seem that it was an indirect challenge, coming from a German "savant" who had apparently come to London sometime in the year 1800, Joseph Hager by name—a man who, on his own showing, must be accepted as then having been for some considerable time a student of Chinese, and who must have had some substantial backing in London. Anyhow, in 1801 he was able to bring out an expensively printed book on the *Elementary Characters of the Chinese*. Nothing up to this time had been heard, at least publicly, of a Chinese dictionary as being the likely fruit of Montucci's musings and study. But the appearance of Hager's volume, following a prospectus of a dictionary which he had previously put out, Montucci found to be queering of a pitch which he had thought might be his own. The Hager book came out in February, 1801. By June of that year Montucci had got out a prospectus for a work which was to be partly constructive and partly destructive; in the former aspect it dealt with the "characteristic merits of the Chinese language"; in the latter, it offered "analytical strictures" on Dr. Hager's work. Montucci had, it would appear, already at this date long since projected a dictionary; Hager, in his preface, specifically stated that he himself proposed to publish one, and that he had "amassed abundant materials for it."

What Montucci promised in his prospectus was promised for "very soon after Michaelmas"; Hager's prospectus said his work was all ready for the printers. But it is obvious that neither the one nor the other had at that time made any particular progress. Montucci almost certainly circulated his proposals to "all the most eminent literary institutions in Great Britain, France and Germany," and may have sent them to various sovereigns, so as to cash in, if possible, on the literary-fame hunger which besets most tyrants and dictators. Both savants were short of the pence required to get in the field first with some Chinese *magnum opus*. Scholars, unfortunately or fortunately, usually are short. Montucci made an attempt to obtain a patron. Scholars and poets have frequently done this; and too often without success. It did not come to Montucci. He flew very high. The emperor Alexander of Russia had a post for a sinologist. Nothing came of Montucci's appeal to be granted this. But he was not on that account prevented from a similar attempt later—and that time successfully, as we shall see.

For the time being he was probably reduced to his solitary musings. His rival Hager fared better. By his book on the elementary characters and by his previously issued prospectus he secured the notice of Bonaparte; and, before he could have done much work, even if he had been active in this, on his announced dictionary, he was summoned to Paris with the mission of publishing the work there and with a "traitement" of 6,000 francs. The Bibliothèque Nationale possessed the types which Fourmont had created and deposited there in 1750. We hear very little more of Hager (no more than we do of Montucci) for some little time. In 1805 he issued a sumptuous volume on Chinese coins. This was, he tells us, a by-work, but his preface asserts that he was getting on with the main job, i.e., the dictionary. He was using Fourmont types; there were 86,417; they were in 236 drawers; the contents as between one drawer and another had become disarranged by casual sightseers; but now—this was at the end of 1804—they had all been arranged and any particular one desired could be found in a minute. The printing off was on the point of beginning. This is the account Hager gives us.

While the *Gentleman's Magazine* had pulled for Montucci, the *Critical Review* and the *Monthly Magazine* had come out strongly for Hager. But when the former disputant followed up his "analytical strictures" with the "Answer of A. Montucci to the conductors of the *Critical Review* and the *Monthly Magazine*," the *Gentleman's Magazine* forbore to enter further into what it called an "oriental dispute." Some note of controversy, it may be admitted, runs through Montucci's warm-blooded life. In 1808 there is a reference to the "discussions polémiques auxquelles il s'est trop livré précédemment," though this pugnacity, it was allowed, was accompanied with every desire to advance the cause of letters. If he had met hornets, he had met them as if he also were one. He refers, in 1817, to those "unfair conductors of the *Critical Review* who in 1802 had so maliciously misrepresented [his] literary projects on this subject." But when in 1804, he returns, in a further publication, to this quarrel, he rather assumes the pose of standing outside of it. In 1817 he magnanimously speaks of Hager as having by his *Elementary Characters*, "once more awakened the attention of Europe to the merits of Chinese literature which had sunk into profound oblivion for half a century"; the cult of it has become "une étude mystérieuse, vague et insignifiante."

By 1804 Montucci's fame as a sinologist had reached his native land. From Rome in that year he was entrusted with what he calls a "vast collection" of Chinese books which he was to sell. It ran to some 1,200 volumes, and it was on view to *literati* at his residence at Pancras. He had arranged it in eight classes, of which he published, in two or three reviews and magazines, a detailed description. Unfortunately we are left without knowledge of what happened to these

books. They may even have been allowed to remain permanently in his possession. It is interesting that the market to which they should have been sent was London. Probably they had been sent there rather than somewhere else partly because Montucci was domiciled there. The question of a dictionary still occupied his attention. He had further controversy with Hager, now in Paris, and this time communicated his material to the *Universal Magazine*, which, however, seems to have tired of the subject sooner than Montucci. In the *Monthly Magazine*, in a letter of March 12, he announces that he is "on the eve of publishing, under very powerful auspices, a prospectus and specimen for editing a Chinese dictionary, with a Latin and French translation." He asks the *literati* of Europe to come forward as subscribers. He gives details of various Chinese dictionaries he had seen at different times. What he hoped to publish was an existing manuscript dictionary. He would give three thousand more characters than any of the manuscripts he had described. Later he was inclined to regard 1804 as the year in which his idea of a dictionary had its definite genesis. In this year also he contributed to the *Universal Magazine* a complete history, in four articles, of Chinese calligraphy; and, as already stated, in this year he made public the letter he had received in 1791 from Alfieri, at that time in London.

Montucci made a considerable sojourn in Edinburgh as a teacher of Italian. How he came to go there and exactly when he went remain matters of doubt. It is stated in one account that he stayed in London until 1804, giving lessons in different languages without interrupting his Chinese studies. His address, as we have seen, was in 1791 Pancras. In his rather numerous letters over the years after 1791 he is still found writing from Pancras. When he arrived in England originally, he is said to have joined the species of "colony" which Wedgwood founded under the name of New Etruria; and his mission there was to give lessons to Wedgwood's rather large family. But after a time he was apparently drawn to London, and seems to have settled at Pancras, which is the neighbourhood now known, for railway purposes mainly, as St. Pancras.

Montucci was certainly in Edinburgh and probably permanently installed there before the end of the year 1805. One of the dedications of his work—he was fond, as people then were, of these opportunities for fine writing—ends as follows: "negli anni della salutare incoronazione del Re dell'Universo. Edinburgo MDCCCV." This was to the edition of Alfieri's tragedies, a work he had probably begun in London. It was published by the Edinburgh firm of Ballantyne; he may have begun negotiations with them before getting to Edinburgh, but this is improbable. Montucci was very proud of it. He dedicated it to the marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale and speaks of his

"somma e speciale affezione pelle Toscane lettere." The two first volumes issued in 1805 were financed by two Edinburgh gentlemen and Thomas Boosey of London; the third volume, which came out in the next year, was financed by four Edinburgh firms, as well as by three other gentlemen. Further than this we do not know anything about Montucci's Edinburgh contacts.

Though his Chinese studies no doubt went on while he was away from London, it was Italian which had his main attention in 1806-1808. Let us catch up with what he had by then published. He was associated with William Roscoe in issuing, at Liverpool and at Roscoe's expense, a small collection of hitherto unpublished poems of Lorenzo di Medici. Roscoe's friend and investigator at Florence, William Clarke, had copied these at the Laurentian library. It was this opuscle that Montucci used as a means of getting into touch with Alfieri, who acknowledged a copy that Montucci left for him. Leaving aside a pocket Italian and English dictionary (1795), stated to have been often reprinted, we find Montucci, this time collaborating with another professor of Italian (L. Valetti), hitting upon a new and original way of spreading his tongue. Learn as you pray was the basic idea. This was in 1796, and what the two professors did was to produce "La Liturgia," a translation not into *Italian* but "nel Tosco Idioma" of the Book of Common Prayer. A contemporary review of this refers to the "old translation" printed at London in the year 1684. The version of the Psalms was entirely by Montucci. A question is raised by the reviewer on the words: "Gesù mandò due discipoli, dicendo loro: andate nel *castello* . . ."; the critic thought "*villaggio*" more appropriate than *castello*, but he did not take account of the fact that the translators were possibly aiming at a Tuscan effect.

Somehow or other next year Montucci became interested in a work by Madame Huguet de Grafigny (whose *Œuvres complètes* had been issued in four volumes in 1799 at London)—the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*. He translated these into Italian, with the exception of the last four letters, which were done by one Diodati. Later in 1809, when Montucci was in Berlin, he brought out a new edition; there was, it would appear, also an edition in 1802, so that the book would appear to have been popular. On the title page Montucci describes himself as "licencié en droit [his old Siena degree], professeur de sciences et belles lettres."

Now as to the Italian output of the Edinburgh years. Two of his productions—editions of *Il Dittamondo* of Redi and of *Select Dramatic Pieces*—were school books of the kind which tends not to be long-lived; there is no trace of them to be found except their titles. But his *Galignani's Lectures on Italian*, which ultimately he augmented from its original (1796) state by two thirds, and the *Supplement* to it called *Italian Extracts* are still useful books, though rare.



But what he seems to have been most satisfied with was his *Quindici Tragedie di Vittorio Alfieri*. There are several references to this in the *Italian Extracts* and to the excellence of format given to it by the Ballantyne Press. Montucci undoubtedly played a considerable part in bringing Alfieri's tragedies to English notice; since his edition, there have been two translations, but no edition of the Italian text of the tragedies as a whole. He says that when he came to England "he did not fail to provide himself with these invaluable volumes," i.e., with the Didot Paris edition (six volumes). He claims that his volumes, three in number (which included, in addition to fifteen of Alfieri's tragedies, the *Merope* of Maffei and the *Aristodemo* of Monti), give what may "fairly be deemed to be the whole of those poetical Italian compositions truly deserving that name"; four out of Alfieri's nineteen were not given, but he promised a supplementary volume "if the public shall honour this publication with their patronage"; but they did not to a sufficient extent.

These years at Edinburgh are blank so far as actual knowledge of progress in Montucci's Chinese studies goes. In one way or another he seems to have pursued his attempts to get the ear of some foreign potentate ambitious of literary glory. It would be interesting to know in detail what steps he took, what he promised, and how much he prostrated himself. All that we have is that he approached various sovereigns. But there was never an answer except from Frederick William III of Prussia. As this was favourable, Montucci decided to cut his roots in England which seem to have included an *English* wife. Since his original arrival there, he had not left it "except for a few months only." Now he settles to pack up and go. When did he leave? He was in Berlin for certain on September 1, 1809; his book, *De Studiis Sinicis*, written in London, bears the imprint and was printed at Berlin (1808). It was reviewed in France before July, 1808. These points indicate that Montucci probably left Great Britain at the end of 1807 or early in 1808. But if the time relation between his arrival in Berlin and that of Napoleon (October, 1806) referred to in the next paragraph is correct, then the departure must be put considerably earlier. He, or at all events his books, travelled from Leith. He refers to the books as being—this was some little time later—"under arrestation at Leith"; this probably does not mean more than that the books were held up in transit. What is really surprising is that he should at that time have been able to travel at all. We have seen Hager travelling to Paris in 1802—possibly under some safe conduct. But a journey from Leith to Germany was something much more hazardous. In November, 1809, Montucci tells us he had never been in Paris, nor, for the matter of that, in Rome.

We do not know what sort of offer he had to induce him to leave. He could probably count on earning enough by his lessons to keep



himself and his family. He does tell us (November, 1809) that the invincible tyrant Necessity obliged him to pass nine to ten hours daily in "literary occupations," which were presumably to a very large extent lessons or preparations for lessons. What, however, he probably longed to be at was his dictionary. He must follow his gleam. Undoubtedly at first he had no retaining salary (except probably as Italian master—see below) from Frederick William. The unfortunate thing was that Napoleon arrived in Berlin six weeks after Montucci; and the king of Prussia, under this duress, had something else to think about than Chinese dictionaries. Montucci continued his studies in Chinese, we are told, and also gave lessons in Italian and in English; the strings to his polyglottomaniac bow were not limited. But in 1810 things took a turn for the better. In that year (these are his own words) "it pleased Divine Providence to place me in a state of happy competence."

This year 1810 was a turning point, in one way, in Montucci's career. His circumstances then became, it seems, easy; he was employing continuously for the seven years after that date a Berlin artist "in tracing and engraving the Chinese characters"; then, when his original artist fell mortally ill, he took on another, the whole work having been thrown back by this forced change. In 1817 he was able to publish in London a quarto work (the *Parallel*) which is a finely printed and well-produced book. In another respect also Montucci now seems to have had his chosen field of life-work clear to himself. His rival Hager had fallen from his high estate in the world of savants. His coming to Paris in 1802 had been welcomed enthusiastically: now the great literary monument, projected in the reign of Louis XIV, would be brought to achievement! Glory would accrue to the Napoleonic régime; and the world of scholarship and different spheres of practical life would have an instrument of culture and help that had long been desired and been the focus of expectations.

But Hager, like Lucifer, had a great fall. After four years the dictionary had under his hand made little progress. The works which he had published had met with violent criticism. Later, in 1811, it is declared that they contained several errors. Anyhow, at some time before Montucci reached Berlin, after Hager's manuscript, so far as it had got, had been subjected to the examination of a body of "savants," he was dispensed with; Montucci claims that this was in part a long-delayed effect of his *Letters on Chinese Literature* (1804). However this may be, it was decided to suspend work on the dictionary till 1808, when the attempt was made, as we shall see, to find a new orientalist. In 1814 Hager is, to the *Quarterly Review*, a "German quack" who had "by impudence or adulation, obtained the . . . support of Bonaparte."

When Hager quitted Paris in 1806, it was to become professor of German at Oxford. His departure left the field eventually open for some other scholar to occupy. Montucci may have canvassed actively to get it. Those who don't ask don't get was a recognized principle of action then and for still many a day after that time. Anyhow we know that when the authorities in Paris were again on the search his name was placed before the Minister of the Interior; and his appointment was more than imminent when it was urged by some "voice" that national honour required the appointment of a Frenchman. In October the younger de Guignes was officially charged with the redaction of the dictionary. The hopes of the learned world had definitely been centered on Montucci for the production of the Great Desideratum. The *Magasin Encyclopédique* says in July, 1808: "nous aimons à penser que . . . M. Montucci peut rendre cet important service à l'Europe savante," i.e., the service which Hager had failed to perform. In 1811 it speaks of Montucci as having justly merited the esteem and approbation of all the savants of Europe, and refers with eager expectation to the dictionary that Montucci "s'occupe actuellement à faire imprimer à Berlin."

Interest was also felt in his work in England. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (May, 1813) announced that he was persevering in his engagements in Prussia, notwithstanding the war, and expected to complete them in the summer of 1815. In July of 1814 the *Quarterly Review*, having as already stated dismissed Hager's pretensions as those of a quack, refers to the "zealous and enthusiastic Montucci" and to his having "made some progress in preparing for the press a Chinese dictionary, consisting of eight or ten thousand of such characters as are most commonly in use." The next stage of progress we find recorded in Montucci's own firsthand statement is that the characters he had completed "to this day (January, 1817) amount to nearly 20,000, although invincible hindrances have prevented me from getting further than the syllable Pang—which is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the whole"; he expected, in about two years, to "see the end of my engraving." For his characters he had had in 1804 praise from Sir George Staunton (the former page to Lord Macartney and afterwards one of the greatest authorities in England on the Chinese language). His opinion was that Montucci's characters "excel in neatness and accuracy any of the former attempts of that kind," and a French authority in 1819, referring to Montucci as "un des premiers sinologues de l'Europe," comments on the "netteté" of his types as surpassing everything of the kind executed in the West.

We may here divert our attention for a moment from Montucci's *magnum opus* enterprise, even as he himself did not neglect diversion. His sport was literary controversy, and he kept himself in training. An opportunity occurred for a brochure. De Guignes, shortly

before his selection as editor, had published his *Voyages en Chine* (strictly, *Voyage à Peking, Manille . . .* is the title). This was in 1808. The book, which was in three volumes, did not reach Montucci until June, 1809. By then, of course, he would have known that he had been the originally preferred candidate for conducting the enterprise "dont l'Europe savante a depuis si longtemps souhaité voir l'exécution," and that he had been rejected in favour of de Guignes. Though he seized the opportunity to criticize de Guignes' much delayed book (he had returned to Europe in 1801), he showed no bitterness. In the book or brochure which he published in 1809 at Berlin at his own expense, he has some favourable things to say, but what he finds lacking in de Guignes is "ENTHOUSIASME"; and the work, he estimates, will demand 14 to 16 hours a day for 10 years! He claims by his brochure to have made clear to the authorities "les raisons, qui me font craindre, que leur choix ne soit tombé pour la seconde fois sur une personne qui paroît devoir frustrer le but de leurs intentions généreuses." He adopts the pseudonym "Sinologus Berolinensis," but indifferently maintains the pseudonymous role. Anyhow de Guignes saw through the disguise quite easily.

Reviewers found it difficult to decide between two men so learned but wished they would both show less bitterness. At the time Montucci could not get on with his work—this was in 1809; his Chinese books were still "in England or at the bottom of the sea." The controversy was brisk. Montucci intended to follow up the "remarques philologiques" with "remarques historiques," if the former were a financial success, but apparently they were not. He published, however, in Berlin a reply to a letter of rejoinder from de Guignes, under the title *Audi alteram partem*. The next year Montucci was in open correspondence with Julius von Klaproth, a distinguished German sinologist; there were three letters on Klaproth's side and one on Montucci's (dated July 2). The tenour of these letters cannot be stated. All that can be said with certainty about Klaproth's attitude to him is that in 1817, reviewing *A Parallel* in the *Annales Encyclopédiques*, he speaks most warmly of Montucci's work; his plan "est si bien conçu et la méthode si claire que je crois qu'il seroit difficile d'imaginer une meilleure."

Montucci had now, presumably, received his books and settled down to work at Chinese. His circumstances, as stated, had improved; he was relatively in clover. He commenced "extensive engraving of the Chinese character." News of him is scanty, however, in the period to 1817. In 1813 de Guignes' labours came to harvest with the issue of his dictionary. It did not fulfill expectations, and he was adversely criticized for assuming all the credit when his dictionary was, as his instructions in fact required, a republication of one (that of père Basile of Glemona) that had belonged to the Vati-

can. Whatever the relations of Klaproth may have been previously with Montucci, they were in harmony when, much later on, in 1819, Klaproth published his *Supplement to de Guignes*; Klaproth then expresses himself scornfully about the non-selection of Montucci.

In 1817 the Rev. Robert Morrison, referred to above, was the rising, or risen, star in sinology. His dictionary has been called "without dispute the best Chinese dictionary composed in a European language"; it began to appear (first part out of three) in 1815. Its appearance brought the polemical Montucci once more into the arena with *A Parallel*. At this time he seems to have drawn closer his relations with Klaproth. Materially, the *Parallel*, published not in Berlin but in London, is a finely printed quarto. Montucci has recorded that it was produced "on such an expensive style as was thought expedient to give it an air of consequence." Unfortunately this lavishness, as he found subsequently, "had materially taken off the balance of my very limited resources." In this book he drops by the way more autobiographical detail. In particular he seems in doubt about completing: "but I begin to be older; if I don't live long enough to complete my work, let those account for it who were deaf to my solicitations when I was in the prime of life and quite destitute of those means which I can boast of enjoying since the year 1810; but too late, I am afraid." This is the first time we hear this note.

As stated, Montucci dedicated *A Parallel* to Sir George Staunton, on whose decision and support he left it to rest whether he should continue or desist from his undertaking. What Staunton's attitude may have been we do not know. But Montucci did not desist; and Klaproth at least (and also the editor of the *Asiatic Journal*) unequivocally supported him as against Morrison. He was thought to have been consistent in his policy and plan since he first came out in 1804. When his dictionary should become available, then and not till then (and not through Morrison's dictionary) would Europeans have a dictionary that would interpret *all* Chinese books and manuscripts without readers being pulled up by difficulties arising from that variation of form to which so many Chinese characters are subject.

So Montucci laboured on, though not, for his work, without periods of crisis. In 1819 domestic concerns induced him to leave Berlin and move to Dresden. This move, with the expensive transport of all his manuscripts and books, brought him into financial difficulties. Just at this time a weakness beset him. The power of his "native melodious strains" heard at concerts and operas worked on him powerfully, and he "tuned again my old decayed lyre . . . which I had never touched since 1789 [the year of his coming to England]" and he "set about writing lyric poetry to furnish Italian words to Italian music." He sent "now and then some characters to

Berlin, to be engraved by the artist I had there instructed." He speaks of "my usual drudgery of drawing Chinese characters"; and he was not unaffected by the numerous setbacks he suffered. But the appearance of Morrison's first part redoubled his ardour. He still had considerable trouble with his engravers; in Berlin the first fell mortally ill; in May, 1816, he got the second; the next, or the second next, was "called to Sweden as designer and engraver to the [new] cotton factories there"; then he found another "among the menial servants of the royal court"; and afterwards (this was in 1823) he was preparing manuscript copies for his *third* Dresden engraver. No wonder he should reflect that it was "high time for me . . . to relinquish for ever all miscellaneous or polemic topics"; some parts of his *Parallel* he had himself referred to as "rather tart expressions" but to be excused "as involuntary offences of an overheated enthusiast." According to an obituary notice which Niccolò Tommaseo, the great lexicographer, editor of the Florence *Antologia*, contributed to that review, Montucci in 1823 published in London "A full account of the Shingaya or sacred edict"—a "valuable literary present" to him: from Sir George Staunton. And, in 1825, he completed his work on the dictionary.

To trace further the course of the Italian stream in Montucci's life, we must go back a little. For eight years from his arrival in Berlin, he was "maestro d'Italiano" at Frederick William's court. As already stated, he transferred himself, in the same capacity, to the court of Saxony. Life there was probably pleasanter for him. It is stated that he enjoyed many proofs of royal affection. He used to to move in summer from Dresden to Töplitz and in autumn from Töplitz to Dresden; unfortunately this moving once occasioned loss of some of his papers, but posterity has not suffered seriously. Another time a box full of pamphlets miscarried on the passage to London from Dantzic, which was "the only port open to Great Britain at the time on this side Europe." Montucci seems to have issued new editions of one or two of his books that had resulted from his earlier Italian teaching; with London he continued to maintain a close connection; he speaks in one place of "my London bookseller" and of "my literary correspondent there." Finally, in 1827, after apparently some sojourn at Leipzig, he ended both Italian teaching and engraving of Chinese characters by his return to his native land, accompanied by his English wife and his afterwards distinguished son Henry (not Henrico); the boy in 1822 was 13 years old and was then being taught Chinese by his father! He had been absent, we are told, 42 years; to make up this total we must reckon in the few years he spent in the *foreign* land of Florence after leaving Siena in the first place.

And what happened to the dictionary upon which he had so long laboured and which he had "an inward sense" of being able to accomplish "much better than they," i.e., Hager and de Guignes? It was never printed and published. And why not? At some point, owing possibly to age or infirmity, he must have given up the enterprise. We may condole—nothing seems to be recorded. He passes almost entirely out of the pan-European ken in which he had bulked, in his special sphere, rather large. It may have been that after all Morrison's dictionary was held to fill the ground. Anyhow Montucci himself could hardly have been equal, unaided, to the burden of the expense; and we may safely conclude that no patron was forthcoming. Interest in Chinese was probably not running so briskly. It was rather an off time for dictators and tyrants.

His Chinese collections seem to have been very extensive. In 1817 he possessed "no less than four and twenty manuscript or printed dictionaries." He speaks of having "purchased at a very high price." He had also ancient Chinese inscriptions copied from mirrors in metal, from bells, from vases, from musical instruments, and from various other antiquities. These were in thirty small volumes, and the whole were in white characters on a black foundation. There were Chinese texts, and there were all the Chinese types he had had cut; Montucci's own account is that these amounted to 24,000 characters, cut in box wood; but other accounts state the number Montucci got up to as being 29,000. The whole of this collection he "made over" in its entirety to the reigning pope, Leo XII. Montucci naïvely says he did not mean by "made over" that it was made over "gratis"; in fact the pope generously accorded him the sum he had asked for, but he does not say how much that was. Montucci was an Italian. He had made a very considerable reputation; credit redounded to Italy. There was no central authority except the papacy to bestow the deserved "national" recognition. The buying of his collections in some measure conveyed this; and the form and method of it assured to Montucci some provision for his old age. To the Vatican, therefore, all these treasured accumulations went, with a manuscript catalogue (this was prior to 1828), and there presumably they remain to this day—a monument of unrelenting enthusiasm, of deep learning and sustained industry, and of graphic skill of no mean order.

What Montucci felt for the *DIVINA LINGUA*, as he called Chinese, can be gathered from the following apostrophe which he wrote in 1809:

*Pauvre Littérature Chinoise! Je te vois renaitre et mourir au commencement de ce siècle, sans pouvoir te secourir. J'ai fait tout ce que j'ai pu, pour faire sentir tes mérites à mes contemporains; pour montrer dans leurs couleurs naturelles les talens de ceux qui, plus semblables au serpent qu'à la sagsue*

*d'Iriarte*, ont affecté de te connaître et de t'apprécier pour toute autre raison, que le penchant qu'ils eussent à te cultiver; pour te voir enfin confiée aux soins d'une personne industrieuse et assidue, qui te connoît assez pour te chérir du fond de son coeur, et qui ne demande pas mieux que de vouer chaque instant de sa vie à ta culture, sous les auspices de quelque puissant Monarque, ou de quelque riche société, puisque ton luxe et ta riche parure te mettent au-dessus de l'entre-tien de tout particulier. Mais que peut-on espérer de la plume d'un inconnu forcé à te louer dans une langue, qui lui est bien peu familière, et qui par conséquent au lieu de t'embellir, doit t'avoir défigurée par des barbarismes et des solécismes? Je finirai donc par la devise que j'ai lue sur la façade d'un palais noir en Italie.

QUOD POTUI, FECI: FACIANT MELIORA SEQUENTES

The moment has now come to bid farewell to Antonio Montucci. He survived but a brief time his return to Siena, where he died on March 25, 1829, of typhoid fever, and was buried at the foot of the altar of the church of Sant' Abbondio outside the San Marco gate. In the year 1828 he had written an article for the *Antologia* on lithography among the Chinese—his only extant piece written in his own language; the languages which he had normally used were English, Latin, French, and German. He reached nearly seventy years. Through hardships and relative prosperity he had toiled on. The success he achieved, though incomplete, he owed to no one but himself. He had not all the patronage he should have had, but this did not diminish his zeal nor wear down his perseverance. The gleam before his inward eye he followed faithfully; and, if for him the spark from heaven never fell, he was assuredly never false to the scholarly ideal. Niccolò Tommaseo gives us an epitaph for him as a man: "uomo probo, amico sincero, buon marito, buon padre." At the same time he remains, as he was while still living saluted, one of the major sinologists in an age which was far from incurious in sinologic studies.

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## DICKENS AND IRVING: THE PROBLEM OF INFLUENCE

By CHRISTOF WEGELIN

In a recent number of this journal, Mr. Ernest Boll devoted an article to the influence of Washington Irving on Charles Dickens.<sup>1</sup> He begins with an emphatic statement of his belief that the American made an "enormous contribution to the literary growth" of the English novelist and proceeds to demonstrate the grounds for this belief. Both external and internal evidence may at first sight appear convincing, the former by its apparent nature, the latter mainly by virtue of its mass. The greater part of the internal evidence consists of parallels to which the reader is referred by titles and by volumes, chapters, or page numbers. To look up many of these passages is laborious work,<sup>2</sup> and many readers may therefore leave Mr. Boll's evaluation of these passages unquestioned. My purpose here is to reassess the value of Mr. Boll's evidence and to correct thereby his estimate of Irving's influence on Dickens.

### I

Mr. Boll's external evidence consists of four letters from Dickens which indicate not only that Dickens had read Irving's works, but that he read and reread them in his youth. "Diederich Knickerbocker," Dickens once wrote to Irving, "I've worn to death in my pocket";<sup>3</sup> and in a speech made during a dinner given in his honor in New York he exclaimed: "Why, gentlemen, I don't go upstairs to bed two nights out of seven . . . without taking Washington Irving under my arm."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Boll accepts these and similar statements as "testimony that must be given the fullest credit" (p. 453), without considering that the first letter he quotes (pp. 453 and 454) was written in answer to "a very hearty letter from Irving about little Nell and the *Curiosity Shop*, expressing the delight with his writings and the yearning for himself,"<sup>5</sup> that the speech in New York was addressed to an assembly among whom were many literary friends of Irving's and whose chair-

<sup>1</sup> "Charles Dickens and Washington Irving," *MLQ*, V (December, 1944), 453-67.

<sup>2</sup> It would be laborious even if Mr. Boll consistently referred to standard editions (which he does not), or if his references were consistently to chapters instead of to pages.

<sup>3</sup> Dickens, *Letters*, ed. Mamie Dickens and Georgina Hogarth (London, 1882), III, 22 (not dated in this edition).

<sup>4</sup> Dickens, *Speeches*, ed. R. H. Shepherd (London, 1884), p. 77 (February 18, 1842).

<sup>5</sup> John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. J. W. T. Ley (New York, n. d.), Bk. III, ch. I, p. 196.

man was Irving himself, and that the second letter he cites (p. 454) was written shortly after Dickens and Irving had met. Without suspecting Dickens of insincerity, one may well imagine that on such occasions he would not only speak but also think of Irving with particular warmth and geniality.

Mr. Boll further contends that "Dickens recognized Irving's stimulus to his imagination at least until 1856" (p. 455). This he finds "as good as declared at the beginning of a letter [Dickens] wrote to Irving in July of that year" (p. 455), and he quotes: "If you knew how often I write to you individually and personally in my books . . ." But this statement, too, must not perhaps be taken too literally. At any rate, one loses confidence in its weight as evidence for Mr. Boll's contention upon discovering that on the same day Dickens began a letter to Landor with the words: "I write to you so often in my books . . .,"<sup>7</sup> and that three months later there is a letter beginning: "My dear Mrs. Watson, I *did* write it for you . . ."<sup>8</sup> Is Dickens declaring his recognition of imaginative stimuli from Landor and Mrs. Watson? It does not seem likely; what these openings reveal is probably not much more than that Dickens, attached to his friends, was a hearty correspondent and as such perhaps even something of a flatterer at times.

However, Mr. Boll has another piece of external evidence. It is a passage from a letter Dickens wrote to Forster about his plans for a periodical. Dickens here contemplates a visit to Ireland or America "to write from thence a series of papers descriptive of the places and people I see, introducing local tales, traditions, and legends, something after the plan of Washington Irving's *Alhambra*."<sup>9</sup> So far Mr. Boll's quotation; it is more suggestive than the letters and the speech previously mentioned, because it shows Dickens not only conscious of some of the forms and materials used by Irving, but also contemplating imitation. Nevertheless, this statement too loses some of its weight as evidence when viewed, not in the splendid isolation in which Mr. Boll presents it, but in its context. The passage is only a small part of an elaborate exposé in which Dickens proposes something on the general plan of the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and Goldsmith's *Bee*, "to start, as the *Spectator* does, with some pleasant fiction relative to the origin of the publication; to introduce a little club or knot of characters . . . stories and descriptions of London . . . dividing them into portions like the *Arabian Nights* . . . from time to time a series of satirical papers . . . something between *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Citizen of the World* . . ."<sup>10</sup> Then finally follows, "in order to give fresh novelty and interest to this undertaking," the suggestion of a trip abroad to add

<sup>7</sup> Dickens, *Letters*, III, 178 (July 5, 1856).

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, 441 (July 5, 1856).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 441 (October 7, 1856).

<sup>10</sup> Forster, *Life*, Bk. II, ch. 6, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Bk. II, ch. 6, pp. 140-41 *passim*.

"something after the plan of Washington Irving's *Alhambra*." Add to the extract just given the list of David Copperfield's extensive reading in the eighteenth-century novel ("written down as [autobiographical] fact, some years before it found its way into *David Copperfield*"<sup>11</sup>), and the predominance of Irving as a possible model appears less exclusive than Mr. Boll's words would suggest. The phrase is chosen advisedly, for, while Mr. Boll nowhere explicitly depreciates the possible influence on Dickens of the eighteenth-century writers, he ignores it completely, save for a reference to Dickens's "earlier love for Goldsmith" (p. 455).

The conclusion, then, which Mr. Boll apparently draws from his external evidence, that Irving was Dickens's "favorite author" (p. 456; the singular is significant) remains to be proved. This necessarily suggests caution in evaluating the internal evidence, the so-called parallels, for they must now stand or fall much on their own merit.

## II

Mr. Boll groups his internal evidence in the following logical categories: "such extremes of assimilation as approach the conclusiveness of the deadly parallel" (pp. 455-58); parallels in "patterns of style" (pp. 458-61); parallels in the use of certain literary forms (pp. 461-63); and "less tangible influences . . . exerted by Irving's attitudes toward folk ways, toward the role of the author, and toward society" (pp. 463-66). I shall analyze them here in the same order, save that the treatment of correspondences in literary forms is reserved for the last.

Since the "deadly parallel" indicates plagiarism rather than assimilation of a source, we shall not expect literal correspondences. "But," Mr. Boll says, "parallels of phrasing and imagery . . . in a writer and his favorite author are strong evidence of absorption" (p. 456). The examples which he quotes *in extenso* are similarities in three pairs of descriptions. In all three cases the similarity is incontestable but does not extend beyond the commonplace, the general, or the typical. Thus, in Christmas, for example, both writers see a season which brings the scattered members of families together. In Irving's meditation on the subject (in the essay "Christmas" in the *Sketch Book*) the idea of the family reunion is closely followed by a mention of the hearthfire as the gathering point, both quotations, though in Irving's text about one page apart, belonging to one trend of thought. If the two images, family reunion and hearthfire, followed each other in Dickens's meditation in the same order and with similar immediacy, one might perhaps be justified in considering the possibility of a source connection. And indeed Mr. Boll leads one to believe that they do so follow each other when he writes: "A few paragraphs beyond the first passage quoted

<sup>11</sup> Forster, *Life*, Bk. I, ch. 1, p. 6.

from Dickens we find a sentence closely paralleling the second citation from Irving" (p. 456). But upon checking we find not only that the "few" intervening paragraphs consist of a whole chapter, i.e., of some twenty pages, but also that the two passages are on entirely different planes, the first one being from Dickens's general meditation upon Christmas introductory to a chapter of Mr. Pickwick's story, the second one, after much fun and conversation, following "a wedding and some other sport beside,"<sup>12</sup> and being part of the story itself.<sup>13</sup>

The next of Mr. Boll's parallels, "a parallel in portraits . . . between Irving's sketch of a coachman and the picture of Tony Weller" (p. 457), is no more conclusive than the first.<sup>14</sup> Of course, the two portraits are similar, for Tony Weller is a coachman, and we have no cause to distrust Irving's word when he states in the same essay that "an English coachman . . . cannot be mistaken for any other craft or mystery." This answers not only Mr. Boll, but also the critic of the *Quarterly Review* whom he cites; for, even if Dickens never saw a coachman in his life, a professional type so prominent in his time surely claimed many a portrayer, in pen as well as in pencil or brush. But whether Dickens's model was Irving's coachman in particular remains a matter for speculation.

This section of Mr. Boll's essay, on such "extremes of assimilation" (p. 455), concludes with "other portraits showing detailed resemblances" (p. 458), listed simply by title and chapter. A check upon four of the five examples listed shows that they are hardly more to the point than the ones actually quoted. There are parallels in type and in situation, the closest being that between Ichabod Crane in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and Nathaniel Pipkin in *Pickwick* (ch. xvii), both schoolmasters in love with wealthy girls who marry other men; each, before going to a party, spends a long time brushing his only Sunday suit; but the stories and treatment differ.<sup>15</sup> At the other end of the scale of the four examples is that of the "village politician" in *Bracebridge Hall* and Will Fern in Dickens's *The Chimes*, with no similarity of any significance, the first being the picture of a radical, the second that of a poor vagrant oblivious of politics.

In the next section of his article Mr. Boll examines Dickens's assimilation of "certain patterns of style" (p. 458) found in Irving. He begins with a valid distinction between what he calls animation and animism, i.e., the objective and subjective modes of a certain style of exuberant, intensifying description, and he gives good examples from both Irving and Dickens. The suggestion is, of course,

<sup>12</sup> Dickens, *Pickwick*, heading to ch. xxviii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. xxviii.

<sup>14</sup> The fragments juxtaposed by Mr. Boll do not follow each other in the same order in the two writers; the whole passage, from which the fragments are taken, is about twice as long in Dickens as it is in Irving.

<sup>15</sup> For the significance of what similarity there is, cf. n. 19 below.

that Dickens learned from Irving, but the matter is as much beyond proof as it is beyond disproof.<sup>16</sup> The same applies to the suggestion that Dickens learned from Irving the use of irony as a stylistic device. The statement that irony, except in Irving, was "uncommon in popular literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century" (p. 459), whatever its accuracy, is quite beside the point because of Dickens's familiarity with eighteenth-century literature, of which the same is not true.

Mr. Boll further contends that "the use of a contemporary idiom for burlesque" (p. 460) was an innovation of Irving's which Dickens adopted. Again he gives a reference list of five sets of parallels.<sup>17</sup> These parallels do agree in subject matter (sometimes only vaguely) and in the fact of burlesque treatment in prose (and this not always); but why Mr. Boll declares the latter, i.e., the "use of a contemporary idiom for burlesque," to be an innovation of Irving's and why Dickens must have adopted it from him remain unexplained. The passages under the heading of "speculative scholarship" (p. 460), for example, are anticipated in Swift's "Laputa" just as clearly as the example from Irving anticipates the one from Dickens; and Dickens knew *Gulliver*. Mr. Boll seems to have overlooked the fact that both Swift and Defoe were masters of sustained irony.

Mr. Boll's last and longest list contains twenty-six parallels which he considers illustrative of Irving's influence on Dickens's "attitudes toward folk ways, toward the role of the author, and toward society" (p. 463). The list is at first glance impressive because of its very length. Upon checking twenty of the twenty-six items we find a certain correspondence in subject matter in all sets, but beyond this the correspondences are inconclusive.

Seven sets of parallels are commonplace in subject matter as well as in treatment. They are the items listed under "Regret over the passing of jolly folk festivals," "The celebration of Christmas," "The romance of the stage coach" (p. 463), "A plea for permitting the London poor to enjoy public parks and heaths," and "The profession of an optimistic creed of authorship" (p. 464), "The do-nothingness of government officials," "The irrational bases of party differences" (p. 465). Aside from the fact that the passages here referred to describe experiences, express attitudes, and make criticisms of a nature not at all monopolized by Irving and Dickens, the cor-

<sup>16</sup> It is possible that a very close stylistic analysis (something Mr. Boll has not attempted), not only of Dickens and Irving, but of others among the former's possible models (such as the eighteenth-century prose writers he is known to have read), might render more definite clues as to the sources of Dickens's style.

<sup>17</sup> Four out of five examples given have been checked. The fifth refers, by pages, to a non-standard edition of Dickens which I have not been able to see. It is only such references as this (roughly twenty per cent of the total) which I have not checked.

respondences are very slight. In "The celebration of Christmas" (cf. pp. 85-86 above) they are perhaps closest. Another example of comparatively close correspondence is the "profession of an optimistic creed of authorship": in the preface to the *Christmas Books* Dickens writes, "My purpose was . . . to awaken some loving and forbearing thoughts, never out of season in a Christian land." In "A Preliminary Word" in the first number of *Household Words* he announces that the purpose of the publication, among other things, is to promote mutual understanding of "the greater and the lesser in degree." These passages Mr. Boll apparently regards as betraying Irving's influence, because in "The Author" in *Bracebridge Hall* Irving assures the reader that he will continue to "see the world in as pleasant a light as circumstances will permit," because "much good might be done by keeping mankind in good humor with one another." There is here just enough resemblance to make us recognize what Mr. Boll is referring to, but not enough to make us understand the inferences he means to draw.

Three sets of parallels grouped under "Criticism of the trans-Atlantic press," "Criticism of trans-Atlantic national feeling" (p. 464), and "The clamorous patriotism of Americans" (p. 465), show no correspondence except in the fact that both authors express some opinions concerning the country across the Atlantic. One is, for instance, at a loss to see what Irving's genial discourse on his naïve and romantic appreciation of the monuments of English history and tradition (in "The Author," *Bracebridge Hall*) has in common with Dickens's acrimonious satire on American chauvinists (in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, ch. 33). Nor should we want to attribute the latter to any influence from Irving's good-humored remark on the English reception of his *Sketch Book* concerning the surprise of the British "that a man from the wilds of America should express himself in tolerable English" ("The Author," *Bracebridge Hall*). A similar difference in attitude between the two writers is found in the passages listed under "Criticism of the trans-Atlantic press" and "The clamorous patriotism of Americans." The Dickens references in these three sets of parallels are all to *Martin Chuzzlewit*. America and the Americans in this novel are a Dickensian version of what their author considered fact, and to explain them in any other way than as an artistic interpretation of experience (in the widest sense of the word) is to misunderstand Dickens's mind and purpose.

Experience also is at the basis of those writings by Dickens which Mr. Boll lists under the following headings: "The harm done by the multiplication of laws," "Vulturous lawyers begotten of the profusion of laws," "The ineffectiveness of imprisonment for debt," "The Puritan mania for repression" (p. 464), "The absurdity of the Lord Mayor's office," "The vacant mind reflected in the countenance of



officials," "The party's self-interest raised above national needs," "The snobbishness of Americans," "Praise of the victimized Indian" (p. 465), and "The Yankee as an expert in smart-dealing" (p. 466). Many of these Dickens references are to short articles in which the Englishman or Londoner expresses his views on matters of government, law, or society, or takes part in public discussion; all are provoked by specific events or institutions, or record personal experiences and observations.<sup>18</sup> Hence Dickens here is always critical and specific, while Irving is often general, vague, romantically descriptive.

With general reference to the American themes on Mr. Boll's list (pp. 465-66), it is notable that five of the total seven refer to adverse criticism. Now it is known that the kind of treatment accorded to America in *Martin Chuzzlewit* and in parts of the *American Notes* gave great offense to the American public; *Knickerbocker*, on the other hand (and all the corresponding references are to it), does not attack Americans, but criticizes men, and it has therefore given rise to no such reaction. The difference in the contemporary reception of the three books serves to point up the divergence between Mr. Boll's parallels.

Mr. Boll himself gives this last list of references as illustrative of "less tangible influences than those of style and form" (p. 463). Any close resemblance in wording, style, or form must therefore not be expected. But what, then, is the meaning of the list? Are we to attribute Dickens's awareness of such problems as "The neglect of the common people by the upper classes," his earnest concern with the state of politics or the law, to Irving's influence? Or are we to understand that we owe it to Irving when Dickens, the reformer and journalist, took his stand on the side of humanity and common sense and publicized his beliefs? "A shrewd penetration into human disguises, checked by sympathy for real suffering and good humor linked to stout courage" Mr. Boll himself justly declares to be among the qualities constituting the two writers' "brotherhood in temperament" (p. 455). The point here is not merely that this may fully account for their similar "attitudes toward folk ways, toward the role of the author, and toward society" (p. 463), but that these strains in Dickens's temperament can have been strengthened by any number of other sources, literary sources included. Nor must the differences between their attitudes be overlooked: between Irving, the man of the world, predominantly observer and, when critic, predominantly the critic of men; and Dickens, here predominantly the journalist and reformer, that is, the critic more of society and specific institutions than of human nature at large.

<sup>18</sup> One of the more surprising of Mr. Boll's entries is "The ineffectiveness of imprisonment for debt," where for Dickens he lists *Pickwick*, ch. xlii, and *Little Dorrit*, but omits *David Copperfield*, which might have reminded him of the autobiographical origin of Dickens's dissatisfaction with the system.

We can now return to the section in which Mr. Boll discusses correspondences in the use of certain literary forms (pp. 461-63). Here certain similarities to Irving, not in individual phrases or the use of stylistic devices, but in form and material, not only appear in Dickens's early writings, but point to the conscious adaptation and imitation suggested in Dickens's letter to Forster in which he sketches his plans for a new periodical (cf. pp. 84-85 above); here internal and external evidence bear each other out. It is notable that Mr. Boll's references in this section are in the main to Dickens's early works, such as the *Sketches by Boz* and *Pickwick*. When Mr. Boll goes further, he either uses commendable caution, as when he suggests as a mere possibility that Dickens's later grisly-humorous characters might owe something to such tales as "The Spectre Bridegroom" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" (p. 462); or he overshoots his mark, as when he notes a correspondence between the *Knickerbocker History* and *A Child's History of England* (p. 463). And the derivation of "the widow and her only son" from Irving's stories, even if their "importance . . . as a casting motif [may be] demonstrated by the fact that the two appear eleven times in different emotional settings in nine novels of Dickens" (p. 463), remains problematic.<sup>19</sup> We really leave firm ground when we begin to consider adaptations other than those of literary forms such as the descriptive sketch; the humorous tale, realistic, fantastic, or macabre; and the sentimental tale—as Mr. Boll lists them.

In the last section of his article (pp. 466-67) Mr. Boll adduces, as "a confirming rather than an essential link" in his argument, some contemporary reviews of the *Sketches by Boz* and of *Pickwick*, which point out the similarity of their narrative art to that of Irving's sketches. In striking contrast to Mr. Boll's lists of parallels, which range as far as Dickens's last completed novel, *Our Mutual Friend* (1864-1865), the quoted reviews cover only those early works of Dickens where a marked similarity to the general type of Irving's sketches exists. The point is important because, while we have no quarrel with Mr. Boll as to his contention that Dickens was to some extent influenced by Irving during his early years, he has not convinced us of Irving's "enormous contribution to the literary growth of . . . Charles Dickens" (p. 453). What influence Irving may have had on Dickens seems limited to a few genres, such as the *Sketches by Boz* and the set tales inserted into *Pickwick*, possibly also to some of the short pieces written for periodicals. But Dickens's universal fame rests, after all, on his novels; and there Irving's influence must be regarded as minimal and problematic until proof more convincing

<sup>19</sup> Here, because of the similarity in situation, Mr. Boll might also have listed Ichabod Crane, Nathaniel Pipkin, and the writing master in "Our School" (Dickens, *Reprinted Pieces*). Cf. p. 86, above.

than Mr. Boll's has been brought. The "study of the antecedents of [Dickens's] methods and attitudes" which was to direct "a fresh light upon the creative wonder that was Dickens" (p. 467), Mr. Boll, perhaps *force majeure*, has not given us; and neither his final tribute to Dickens's genius nor his reassuring pronouncement that "Dickens was not a mere imitator" (p. 467) can counterbalance the uncomplimentary implications of many of his parallels.

Studies of the type of Mr. Boll's sometimes refute themselves. Mr. Boll escapes this danger because, owing to his repeated use of the "method of briefing," required by "the number of [his] parallels" (p. 463), a mere reading of his article leaves one unaware of the discrepancy between the volume and the weight of his evidence. His fervor was spent in a good cause; but its excess teaches the commanding need, in author and reader alike, of vigilant skepticism in dealing with problems of sources and influence.

*Baltimore, Maryland*



## LERMONTOV AND THE CHARACTER OF PECHORIN

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

At the age of twenty-five, Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov published in 1839 the first of the stories dealing with the character of Pechorin. Later he republished them in book form under the title *The Hero of Our Time*. Almost immediately, there started a bitter flood of discussion in regard to the character of the hero and the style of the book, for it was one of the first novels in Russian literature to analyze psychologically a contradictory character, and the opinions of the critics differed widely according to their own points of view on both the author and his work.

As soon as the novel appeared, some enemies of Lermontov advanced the theory that the work was largely autobiographical and that Lermontov had pictured himself in the character of Pechorin. It cannot be denied that there may be some truth to this statement, but Lermontov, in the preface to the second edition, laughed at the idea, and went on:

The Hero of Our Time, my dear sirs, is a portrait but not of one man; it is a portrait made of the vices of our whole generation in their complete development. You will tell me again, that a man cannot be so bad; and I will tell you that if you believed the possibility of existence of all tragic and romantic villains, why do you not believe in the reality of Pechorin? If you admired conceptions far more awful and monstrous, why does this character, even as a conception, not find mercy with you? Is it because there is more truth in it than you would wish?<sup>1</sup>

As an example of those critics like Byelinsky and Kotlyarevsky, who saw something positive in Pechorin, we may quote the former's discussion of the difference between Onyegin in Pushkin's *Evgeny Onegin* and Pechorin. There can be no doubt that there is some parallelism between them, even to the fact that both were named after lakes in north Russia, but there the likeness ends. Byelinsky emphasizes the fact that Onyegin has really found his place in life. He is entirely blasé, and all his good qualities have been definitely killed by education and society. Pechorin on the other hand

does not endure his suffering indifferently or apathetically; he madly presses after life, seeking it everywhere; he bitterly blames himself for his errors. In him there unceasingly ring out internal questions, they disturb him, torture him, and in reflection he seeks their solution; he examines every movement of his heart, he examines every thought. He has made of himself a curious object of his observations and, trying to be as sincere as possible in his confessions, he

<sup>1</sup> Slovo, ed. (1921), IV, 247. All references with one exception are to this volume. All translations are by the writer of this article.

not only frankly confesses his true defects but he also invents non-existent ones or falsely interprets his most natural movements.<sup>2</sup>

Of the negative critics, among whom we can place Ovsyaniko-Kulikovsky, Chernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov, we may take as typical the remark of M. E. Duchesne:

L'impression finale laissée par le caractère de Petchorine est troublée et obscure; c'est surtout parce qu'il lui a trop prêté de lui-même, qu'il a associé dans son âme trop de contradictions, que l'auteur n'a réussi à lui communiquer qu'une vie purement extérieure, donc artificielle et précaire.<sup>3</sup>

It would take too long to trace the possible development of this type of character throughout the whole of Lermontov's works. Again and again his heroes are overbearing, egotistical, and insincere, and lend themselves to comparison. We might especially mention the character of Alexander Radin in *Two Brothers*, for here we find the name of Princess Vyera Ligovskaya, for whom the two brothers are rivals. Yet even this is hardly germane to the subject, for the idealistic Yury has lent something to Pechorin, as much as did the grim and restrained Alexander.

It is better, therefore, to start with the fragment *Princess Ligovskaya*, which Lermontov wrote in 1836, shortly after he heard of the marriage of Varvara Lopukhina to M. Bakhmetev. The main course of the action can only be assumed. In the past Pechorin has been sincerely in love with Vyera, and when he left for the war, they were informally engaged. Then for some motive, he did not write to her, and she married Prince Ligovskoy for wealth and position. Now she and her husband are in Petersburg. In the meanwhile Pechorin as a young officer is just concluding a flirtation with Mlle Negurova by the simple expedient of writing her an anonymous letter to that effect. This detail was autobiographic, and was based on the poet's own treatment of Elizavyeta Aleksandrovna Sushkova. We cannot be sure whether the object of Pechorin was to punish Vyera or to have an affair with her, and the fragment breaks off. Perhaps Lermontov was not certain in his own mind as to his reactions towards Varvara's marriage or his future attitude towards her. Pechorin is represented throughout as a man who is not sure of himself in society, although he is egotistical and desirous of social success.

The Pechorin and Vyera here are undoubtedly the same characters who appear later in *The Hero of Our Time*. Age has changed both of them, exactly as it developed Lermontov, but in the later work the author never goes further into the past of Pechorin and Vyera than

<sup>2</sup> Pokrovsky, *Mikhail Yurevich Lermontov: His Life and Works* (Moscow, 1914), p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Duchesne, *Michel Iourevitch Lermontov, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1910), p. 182.

to state that they had once had a serious affair of short duration in which the real feelings of both were deeply involved.

The structure of *The Hero of Our Time* gives rise to many questions. The book consists of *Bela*, a short sketch *Maksim Maksimych*, a prefatory note, the *Journal of Pechorin*, and then three extracts from the diary—*Taman*, *Princess Mary*, and *The Fatalist*. In the chronological sequence of events the order should be *Taman*, *Princess Mary*, *The Fatalist*, *Bela*, *Maksim Maksimych*, and the prefatory note. This can be stated definitely, for Pechorin casually mentions in *Princess Mary* that he finished it in the fortress of Maksim Maksimych, but this is hardly more than an aside, and the average reader might easily believe that the stories are in proper chronological order.

There is such a definite unity to the character of Pechorin that we do not need to follow Duchesne<sup>4</sup> when he endeavors to treat the stories separately and emphasizes contradictions between them. Such contradictions, however, are no greater than would be involved in the difference between a story about a man and that man's own diary. Even the final remark in *The Fatalist* about predestination is really the same as that with which the old officer begins his story in *Bela*.

One striking fact about the book is that we see Pechorin only once through the eyes of a gentleman of his own class. In *Maksim Maksimych* Pechorin passes before the eyes of the author of *Bela*, but he barely speaks, and we have only an external picture of him. There is no need to quote this in full. Pechorin appeared to be of an unusual, strong type, "unconquerable either by the debauchery of the life in the capital or by spiritual storms."<sup>5</sup> We may mention his eyes:

They did not smile when he smiled. . . . It is a mark of either an evil character or of deep, constant sorrow. From under their half-closed lids they gleamed with a phosphorescent gleam, if we can so speak. It was not the reflection of spiritual fervor or of a sportive imagination; it was a gleam like the gleam of flashing steel, dazzling but cold.<sup>6</sup>

With this exception we see Pechorin only through the eyes of Maksim Maksimych or from his journal, in which he impartially records his own feelings and the ideas which he seeks to implant in others. In view of the question as to his sincerity, we must take all these references cautiously, and the more of Lermontov we see in him, the more cautious we must be.

The relations of Pechorin and the old staff-captain Maksim Maksimych are significant. The latter is one of the finest examples of the active Russian army officer in literature. He is limited in every way. Ever since the invasion of the Caucasus by the armies of General

<sup>4</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>5</sup> P. 302.

<sup>6</sup> P. 304. Note that Turgenev made this remark of Lermontov's own eyes (ed. Glazunov [1915], X, 83).



Yermolov, he has been on the frontier, constantly exposed to danger, and without any hope of substantial promotion. Such a man has seen lieutenants come and go. They arrive from the capital and from the guards. Some come as a punishment, and others for a career. It is necessary to break them in, and by that time they are ready to apply for transfer. A Maksim Maksimych in his daily exposed position would be little impressed by their wealth and social position, and it is a tribute to Pechorin that, even after the episode with Bela, the old man would neglect government business to see his former subordinate. Pechorin's casual treatment of the old man does him no credit, but at least he turns pale at the mere mention of Bela.

Apparently Pechorin's contradictions surprised the old man, but there was something attractive about him.

He was a fine little fellow, I dare to assure you; only somewhat strange. Thus, for example, every day in rain and cold he was out hunting; all would be chilled and weary, but not he. Another day he would sit in his room, and if the wind blew, he would assure us that he had taken cold; if a blind slammed, he would tremble and turn pale, and in my presence he once advanced on foot and alone against a wild boar; sometimes for whole hours you could not get a word from him, then sometimes, when he began to tell stories, you would split your sides from laughter. . . . There are such people on whose fate it was written at birth that various extraordinary things must happen to them.<sup>7</sup>

This is the key to Pechorin's character as Maksim Maksimych saw him. He was constantly changing, and in satisfying his whims and desires, his personal safety, danger, or responsibility played almost no part. The desire to possess Bela, the Tatar girl, led him to neglect duty, the possible danger to the fortress, and all obligations to his commanding officer and the army. When that whim passed, and he became bored, he began to neglect her. He thus explained himself to the staff-captain:

Listen, Maksim Maksimych. . . . I have an unfortunate character, whether education made me this or God created me this way, I do not know; I know only that if I am the cause of the misfortune of others, I am not less unfortunate. Of course that is poor consolation for them, but the fact is that it is true. In my early youth, from the time when I left the protection of my parents, I began to enjoy madly all the pleasures which could be secured for money, and of course these pleasures soon became repulsive to me. Then I went into society, and soon society also bored me; I fell in love with society beauties and was loved, but their love only irritated my imagination and egotism and my heart remained empty. I began to read and study—knowledge also bored me; I saw that neither fame nor happiness depended at all upon it, because the happiest people are ignorant, and fame is luck, and to acquire it, one must only be clever. Then I got bored. Soon I was transferred to the Caucasus; this is the happiest time of life. I hoped that boredom would not live under Chechen bullets—in vain; in a month I was so accustomed to their humming and the nearness of death that I really paid more attention to the gnats—and I became more bored than ever

<sup>7</sup> P. 256.

because I had lost almost my last hope. When I saw Bela in her home, when for the first time I held her on my knees and kissed her black locks, I, like a fool, thought that she was an angel, sent to me by a sympathetic fate. . . . I was mistaken again; the love of a barbarian girl is little better than the love of a famous lady; the awkwardness and sincerity of the one are just as boring as the coquetry of the other. If you wish, I still love her, I am grateful to her for some quite sweet moments. I will give my life for her, but I'm bored to ~~be~~ with her. . . . Whether I'm a fool or a villain, I don't know; but it is certain that I am also worthy of pity, perhaps more than she; my soul has been spoiled by the world, my imagination is uneasy, my heart insatiable; everything is too little for me; I become accustomed to sadness as easily as to pleasure, and my life grows emptier day by day; there is only one thing left for me—to travel. As soon as I can, I will start—only not to Europe, God forbid!—I will go to America, Arabia, India—perhaps somewhere I will die on the road. At least I am sure that this last consolation will not soon be exhausted, with the help of storms and bad roads.<sup>8</sup>

Such an outburst startles the staff-captain, who seeks for an explanation in his halting way. The author tries to explain it—that this fashion was introduced by the English, but the old officer, who blames his own lack of success on one drunken spree, remarks, "Well, they are all incorrigible drunkards."

When Bela was killed a little later, Pechorin's face showed no expression. Later outside the fortress he began to laugh, "and the chill ran over my skin at that laugh."<sup>9</sup> It was not dying romanticism as Duchesne tries to show.<sup>10</sup> It was the consciousness that once again Pechorin's destiny had set him free. Nevertheless he was sick for a long time afterwards.

In this story Pechorin is definitely older and more sure of himself than he was in *Princess Ligovskaya*, but he is fundamentally the same person, the self-centered individual who thinks only of himself and has never learned his responsibilities toward others. He follows his whims and relies upon his fate to extricate him from difficulties, and unfortunately his fate serves him well.

The Pechorin represented by the diaries is much the same man. Of course we see him through his own eyes. We have to discount a certain amount of his conversations and remarks, for often, as in *Princess Mary*, he is definitely talking for effect. Many critics have failed to see this and have consequently fallen into the trap set here by Lermontov exactly as in *Maksim Maksimych*, when he spoke about Pechorin's eyes and the two possible interpretations of his character.

We do not need to say much about *Taman*. It is one of the masterpieces of Russian literature and was highly praised by Chekhov as the best short story in Russian.<sup>11</sup> It is a tale of adventure among

<sup>8</sup> P. 286 ff.

<sup>9</sup> P. 295.

<sup>10</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>11</sup> Mirsky, *History of Russian Literature* (New York, 1927), p. 200.

smugglers and adds little to Pechorin as we already know him, for it relates but another example of his reckless bravery. He is impetuous and not always tactful, but he is able to act at crucial moments, and then he is afraid of reporting that he has been robbed by a blind boy and nearly drowned by a young girl.

*Princess Mary* is the main part of the diary and the most involved, for only here do we see Pechorin associated with persons of his own class and giving vent to his whims and hates.

Let us first note the difference between the sympathetic picture of Maksim Maksimych and the sneering attitude which Pechorin adopts toward society officers such as the dragoon captain and his friends, whom the hero despises. He knows how to bring out their disagreeable sides, and he does not hesitate to do so, precisely as he knows how to ridicule all the members of society, with the exception of Dr. Verner, who alone is treated with respect. Pechorin talks to him more or less seriously and seems to enjoy his society, though he resents bitterly Dr. Verner's reactions after the duel. Perhaps it is this attitude that makes him snub Maksim Maksimych when he meets him in a governmental environment.

The chief *bête noire*, however, is Grushnitsky, a yunker (or cadet) who receives his commission during the story. This young man is typical of the Byronic youth of the day, and Pechorin summarizes his love of posing:

His coming to the Caucasus was also a consequence of his romantic fanaticism; I am convinced that on the eve of his departure from his father's village, he said with a gloomy face to some good-looking neighbor, that he was going not simply to serve but that he was seeking death, because—here he certainly covered his eyes with his hand and continued: 'No, you must not know this! Your pure soul will tremble. Why? What am I to you? Will you understand me?' and so on.<sup>12</sup>

Grushnitsky, who courts Princess Mary and is finally dislodged in her affections by Pechorin, deserves more consideration than critics usually give him. He is more than a mere foil to Pechorin, for he is an example of a type that Lermontov himself despised. Kotlyarevsky in his study of Lermontov hardly mentions him. Byelinsky sums him up by saying that "he was the apotheosis of petty egotism and weakness of character."<sup>13</sup> There is not in him a spark of honor and very little real decency. He is perfectly willing to join the conspiracy against Pechorin and is only kept from confessing his plot by the pressure of the dragoon captain. He is a coward at heart and only stands Pechorin's shot, because he is more afraid of the ridicule he would receive by telling the truth than he is of the shot. In fact he is without either moral courage or fundamental intelligence. "Had he lived, like the others of his type he would have become a quiet landowner or a

<sup>12</sup> P. 330 f.

<sup>13</sup> Pokrovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

drunkard or both."<sup>14</sup> In fact, he is so unimportant that Pechorin almost wonders whether he is not wasting time by unmasking him.

Pechorin, with all his unscrupulousness and his cold-blooded efforts to fascinate Mary for his own pleasure, is entirely different. We know already from *Bela* and *Taman* that he can be recklessly brave, and we therefore appreciate the irony of the scene when the conspirators express their belief that he is an absolute coward, merely because he has not sought out duels with all the persons around him.<sup>15</sup> His agreement as to the terms of the duel confirm them in this belief until the final moment. In fact, he appears rather as almost cynically indifferent to his own life and seems to delight in taking chances to test his self-control.

Side by side with this are his cold-blooded attempt to win Princess Mary away from Grushnitsky and the psychologically clever way in which he acts. In all this he is more sure of himself than was the younger Pechorin with Mlle Negurova, but he has even less thought for the feelings of his victim.

Pechorin is not really interested in the young girl. As a result, his joy in his conquest and his willingness to take every advantage of a less skilled opponent show him in a repulsive and almost dishonorable light, which is not much relieved by his frank but brutal final interview with her. Of course there are passages where he may suspect that he is playing with fire, and that even he may be burned. This is evident from his remark, "Returning home, I noticed that something was lacking. I had not seen her! She is sick! Have I not really fallen in love?—What nonsense!"<sup>16</sup>

That there is no real feeling for Princess Mary we can see in the different tone of his confession to her and the one to Maksim Maksimych. In the latter case he blames himself and his nature. Speaking to Princess Mary, he throws all the blame on society, when he tells her that people suspected in him all bad qualities, and they were accordingly born. Then he adds:

I became a moral cripple; one half of my soul did not exist; it dried up, steamed away, died. I cut it off and threw it away; then when the other stirred and lived at the service of every one, no one noticed it, because no one knew of the existence of the other half. But you are now awakening in me the memory of it, and I have read you its epitaph. To many all epitaphs in general seem amusing, but not to me, especially when I remember what is buried under it. Yet I do not ask you to share my opinion; if my outburst seems to you amusing—please laugh; I warn you that it will not hurt me at all.<sup>17</sup>

There is a certain sincerity in the whole, but Pechorin is talking to fascinate the girl, and he achieves his point, conscious all the time that he is not telling the whole truth.

<sup>14</sup> P. 330.

<sup>15</sup> P. 392.

<sup>16</sup> P. 383.

<sup>17</sup> P. 373 f.

We can compare this harangue with his own meditations the night before the duel, in a passage which is perhaps the most sincere of any in the entire work.

I run over in my memory all my past and I ask myself involuntarily, why did I live? For what purpose was I born? It probably existed, and probably I had a high significance, because I feel in my soul unrevealed powers. . . . But I did not guess my significance, I was allured by the charms of empty and thankless passions; from their furnace I emerged hard and cold as iron, but I had lost forever the dust of noble aspirations—the best flower of life. Since that time how often have I played the role of the axe in the hands of fate! As the instrument of punishment, I fell on the heads of my destined sacrifices, often without venom, always without pity. . . . My love brought happiness to no one, because I sacrificed nothing for those whom I loved; I loved for myself, for my own pleasure; I only satisfied the strange need of the heart, greedily swallowing up their feelings, their love, their joys and sorrows—and I could never be satiated. Likewise, a man tormented by hunger falls to sleep helplessly and sees before him splendid dishes and foaming wines; he devours with delight the ethereal gifts of his imagination and seems easier; but as soon as he awakes—the dream vanishes . . . there remain doubled hunger and despair.

And perhaps I shall die to-morrow . . . and there will not be left on earth a single being, who would understand me completely. Some consider me worse, others better than I am in fact. . . . Some will say: he was a decent little fellow, others—a scoundrel. Both will be wrong. After this, is it worth the trouble to live? and you live on—from curiosity; you are waiting for something new. . . . It is comical and sad.<sup>18</sup>

Pechorin here puts his finger directly on the cause of his troubles. He is entirely self-centered, and he thinks only of himself, but how many self-centered people are able to diagnose so clearly and so honestly their own ailment? The mere fact that he can do so is proof that all hope for him is not lost. True as this confession is, the result is an overstatement, and the story itself confirms this. He remembers the past. Lermontov, in *Princess Ligovskaya*, had said: "[Pechorin] had the most unfortunate character; impressions at first sight constantly cut into his mind more and more deeply, so that afterwards this love acquired over his heart the right of antiquity—the most sacred of all the rights of humanity."<sup>19</sup> Now Pechorin says of Vyera, "There is no one in the world over whom the past could have acquired such power as over me. Every memory of past sorrow or joy painfully strikes my soul and allures from it the same sounds. . . . I am stupidly made. I never forget a thing—not a thing."<sup>20</sup>

It is this side of Pechorin that comes out in the episodes with Vyera, and for the understanding of Pechorin this is more important than the flirtation with Princess Mary. Duchesne is absolutely wrong when he says, "Mais on a le droit de négliger les amours de Vera et

<sup>18</sup> P. 405 f.

<sup>19</sup> P. 205.

<sup>20</sup> P. 343.

Petchorine; ils pourraient être supprimés sans que le récit y perdît grand' chose."<sup>21</sup> The truth is quite the opposite.

Vyera, of course, is not as clearly drawn as is Princess Mary. Byelinsky goes too far when he says that she is rather a "satire on a woman than a woman."<sup>22</sup> For Pechorin she is a real person and, more than that, a memory of an event in his past in which all of his better self was involved. It is no wonder that she loses in clearness in the process. He knows that she still loves him better than Princess Mary could ever love anyone.<sup>23</sup> From the first moment when he meets her in the grotto, the old flame springs up, and around that are concentrated all the elements which might ultimately reconcile him to life and humanity. Of course, he tortures her out of his self-centered egotism, but he is conscious that there is a deep sincerity in his feelings which he is trying to conceal.

Vyera is ill and will probably soon die. Under those conditions we can well understand why Grushnitsky and his friends are sure that Pechorin entered the house for an affair with Princess Mary. Why should the dashing officer pay attention to a faded woman when there was the fascinating princess available? That was their attitude toward life and would have been his, had he been as simple as hostile critics pretend. They cannot understand the idea of sincerity or of deep feeling. Pechorin leaves for Kislovodsk at Vyera's request. He follows out all her wishes. After the duel, she writes the last letter, and that letter is banal, because it is the simple truth, and the truth must be either grotesque or banal, depending upon the situation. When Pechorin receives it, he reacts at once and starts in pursuit. "At the possibility of losing her forever, Vyera became for me dearer than everything in the world—dearer than life, honor, happiness! God knows what strange, what mad ideas swarmed in my head!"<sup>24</sup> A man who could feel that way is not all cold and dead.

We do not know the details of the whole earlier relationship, but she is obviously the girl who appeared in *Princess Lgovskaya*. She is his real childhood love before he entered the army and towards whom he was so bitter at the time of her marriage. She had later yielded, but she was not like others, "for she is the only woman in the world whom I would not be able to deceive."<sup>25</sup> She yields again at Kislovodsk, but she remains the one person whom he can love. She is not strong enough to save him, but she can at least keep him alive.

The last story, *The Fatalist*, is again a slight episode in which no women appear. Vulich, a Serb officer, after betting that he cannot die until his time comes, aims a gun at himself. The pistol does not go off.

<sup>21</sup> Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>22</sup> Pokrovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>23</sup> P. 368.

<sup>24</sup> P. 421.

<sup>25</sup> P. 352.

He remains unharmed, but only a few hours later he is cut down by a drunken Cossack. In the same spirit Pechorin enters the house where the murderer has taken refuge and captures him alive. Pechorin tries to explain to Maksim Maksimych, and the old man sums it up with the same remark that he had made about Pechorin, "I'm sorry for the poor devil. . . . The devil got him to talk at night with a drunk. Well, apparently it was so written on his fate at birth!" I could get nothing more from him; he did not like to indulge in general philosophical discussions."<sup>26</sup> It was in a way a justification of Pechorin's actions, and it was also a denial of them, for Pechorin acts rationally and wisely in his attempt to capture the man.

Pechorin is an extraordinary character. His mind and his heart are in constant conflict, and he has argued himself into an attitude where he deliberately refuses to believe what he desires to believe or to accept those emotions which mean so much to him. He has a strong sense of poetry and feels the beauty of nature. He has physical courage. He has the ability to conquer a society which he does not accept. He tries to pose as a man without real attachments, and all the time his heart is really breaking, but he will not admit it to himself or to anyone else. All these contradictions are common in varying degrees to all the heroes of Lermontov, but it is only in *The Hero of Our Time* that they are brought together to produce such an attractive and yet repulsive type.

Durylin makes a very good observation on him.

The Hero of Our Time is made to represent those classes of the nobility which ten years earlier had produced the Decembrists. The activity of Pechorin, his free impulses, which do not find corresponding objects, his proud feelings of his own value, the strength of character free from sentimentalism, combined with the rationalistic tendencies of his mind, his undoubted cultural superiority, all this compels us to see in him a late born Decembrist, who ten or fifteen years earlier would have found a cause worthy of him.<sup>27</sup>

This realization that there was something serious in Pechorin which he was never able to manifest seems far more satisfactory than the opinion of Kotlyarevsky, who insists that "Lermontov at the time of the composition of *The Hero of Our Time*, came to a joyless decision—to cast off all these questions, not to bind himself to his bad or his good aspirations, and to give full vent to all the contradictions hidden in his being."<sup>28</sup> Such a conception hardly does justice to the under-current of real emotion that is hidden under the brittle and cynical exterior of Pechorin.

We find a similar situation elsewhere in the writings of Lermontov, and we may take as a striking example the ending of *Valerik*. This poem opens with a note of real feeling. Then, after the account of the

<sup>26</sup> P. 440.

<sup>27</sup> Durylin, *How Lermontov Worked* (1934), p. 115.

<sup>28</sup> Kotlyarevsky, *Lermontov* (1909), p. 237.



battle, the poet concludes with a strange mixture of seriousness and jesting when he says:

And now farewell! If my dull tale  
Can bring a joy into your heart,  
Can comfort it the slightest bit,  
I shall be glad; but if I fail,  
Forgive me this, my foolish prank,  
And softly murmur, 'What a crank!'<sup>29</sup>

We notice too that this poem is supposed to be addressed to Varvara Lopukhina Bakhmeteva, the girl who perhaps was the prototype for Vyera throughout the entire series of stories.

For all practical purposes the story of Pechorin ends with *Princess Mary*. There is the last interview between Pechorin and the young girl, but the story really ends with his mad dash after Vyera. It almost seems as if Lermontov had wanted to leave the impression that the loss of Vyera had made a striking change in the character of Pechorin. Of course, if we analyze the stories chronologically, we see that nothing happened, and that only a short time later Pechorin was again madly chasing after Bela, but the general effect is very different, and Lermontov may have here again been playing with his public.

The Pechorin stories are as a whole unfinished. It was always possible to add more to them, to give other episodes from his life and diaries, and for that reason we can easily overemphasize the significance of the preface to the second edition, in which Lermontov sharply criticizes his hero. There is little necessary ground for the idea that Lermontov had turned sharply away from Pechorin. He may have done so for a time, but had he lived and surmounted the crisis of the last years, it is very likely that Pechorin too would have reappeared strangely transfigured, perhaps at the grave of Vyera.

The chief figure of *The Hero of Our Time* was more solid and substantial than many of the contemporaries thought. He was a superior type, and even if that type is not always admirable, yet Pechorin was not a lost soul. He affected to believe that he was, but again and again we realize not only that he was a *poseur* and an actor, but that he did have a fundamental basis of real character, and that his mad efforts to destroy this character were not meeting with success. Had he and the author both learned to admit that they were human beings in the full sense of the word, there would have been a new epoch in Russian literature. It was not to be. The bullet of Martynov cut short the career of Lermontov at the age of twenty-seven, and the ideal of the gentleman, and all with which that ideal is connected, receded

<sup>29</sup> Slovo, ed., II, 273.

rapidly into the background, and the newer generation of a very different type took the predominance. To them, Pechorin was an obvious anachronism and a type that they had difficulty in comprehending and understanding.

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## REVIEWS

*The German Catholic Estimate of Goethe (1790-1939): A Contribution to the Study of the Relation of German Catholicism to Secular Culture.* By WILLIAM J. MULLOY. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, 1944. Pp. viii + 357-457. \$1.00.

The estimate of Germany's greatest author by half the German-speaking world is certainly an important chapter in the history of literary tradition. One is startled that such a subject has heretofore been neglected, and is grateful to William J. Mulloy for having filled the gap in a truly dignified and scholarly way. His book shows everywhere the earmarks of diligent research, but it happily is not overburdened with detail and makes good reading even for a non-specialist.

Professor Mulloy divides his study into three periods which are marked by significant changes of general Catholic orientation. The first period he calls an era of naive appreciation (1790-1861). Catholic intellectuals shared little in the creation of German national literature in the eighteenth century. But when it appeared, they manifested "a commendably appreciative and hospitable spirit" (p. 358). Goethe's Catholic contemporaries regarded him as a man of sincerity and integrity and here differed noticeably from some of the Young German critics who might have been mentioned by way of contrast. Of course, all Catholics knew instinctively that Goethe's philosophical outlook was not orthodox. But that did not keep them from acknowledging that his works otherwise contained much that was beautiful, a conclusion agreed upon by original Catholics like Joseph von Eichendorff and Adam Müller as well as by Romantic converts like Friedrich Schlegel and Georg Friedrich Daumer. Naturally, greater differences could be noticed with regard to individual works. Of these *Faust* could be viewed only after its completion. It was generally interpreted as the dramatization of the popular legend of Faust's damnation brought about by his pride and sensuality. Few attempted a fuller estimate, and only Daumer succeeded in being less superficial. Here Mulloy might have pointed out that non-Catholic critics likewise were slow in rising sufficiently to the sublimity of Goethe's final work, especially its second part.

It was only with the appearance of Joseph Görres' *Historisch-politische Blätter*, from 1838 on, that the tone of Catholic literary criticism began to become more controversial. They foreshadowed the outspoken, militantly democratic Catholicism which dominated the second half of the nineteenth century. Mulloy correctly attributes its rise to inner Catholic tendencies as well as to outside attacks and reactions and aptly points out that by its concerted action Catholicism gained politically, while at the same time it lost grievously in sci-

entific and intellectual status. In Goethe criticism, this second period (1862-1897) can be characterized as an "age of intransigence." Its general approach was negative and culminated in Alexander Baumgartner's *Goethe* (*sic!*) which began to appear in 1879. This Jesuit biography systematically attacked Goethe's character as that of a pagan "Genußmensch" and found fault with almost every phase of his life. Contemporary Catholic journals did not question such an estimate, while non-Catholic critics viewed it as a gross misinterpretation. They failed, however, to see that the unlimited praises of blind Goethe enthusiasts for a long time had almost begged for an exaggeration in the opposite direction. And some of Baumgartner's distortions could be paralleled by puritanical moralizations in American Goethe criticisms of the same period, to which Mulloy might have called the reader's attention. Aesthetic blindness was not confined to one church only, although the Catholic approach was on the whole more negative. In treating of Goethe's philosophy, it was satisfied to demonstrate his lack of orthodox Christianity. In discussing the individual works, it confined itself to rejecting them as sources of ultimate truths and as instruments of reverential Christian education. Only *Hermann und Dorothea* and in some measure also *Iphigenie* were conceded to be beneficial, while *Faust* was rudely attacked as the notorious expression of the modern, anti-Christian point of view.

As long as such obscurantism prevailed, the true universal nature of Catholicism could not manifest itself. There was no reason why modern non-Catholic literature should be treated differently from the literature of Classical Antiquity. Its authors were doubtlessly heathens, and yet the Church found much to be commended in their writings. The same attitude had been taken by the eminent critics of the first half of the century towards non-Catholic German culture, and it was a return to their Christian tolerance that was envisaged by the young Catholic intellectuals around 1900. The courageous Karl Muth became their leader, and his magazine *Hochland* (since 1903) became the center of this Catholic renaissance (1898-1939). In his fight for fairness and truly Christian charity Muth was aided by such able critics as the Franciscan father Expeditus Schmidt and the Jesuit Friedrich Muckermann. Baumgartner now was severely taken to task for failing to observe Goethe's frank admission of his own weaknesses, for overlooking the results of the immoral experiences described in the poet's works, for mistaking chance remarks for Goethe's ultimate religious convictions. Even the less abusive tone of Alois Stockmann's revision of Baumgartner's work did not satisfy the new critics. They wanted to be reasonable and appreciative, if not downright sympathetic, and their outlook was best represented by the literary history of Anselm Salzer (*Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, 1912), or by Karl Muth's remarkable essay on the occasion of the centenary of Goethe's birth.

Friedrich Muckermann, a Jesuit like Baumgartner, now could discover some enduring values in Goethe's thought and dared to

describe the poet as "a pagan possessed of an *Anima naturaliter Christiana*" (p. 424), although never more than a Christian of the heart. Muth and Günther Müller pointed out the deeply religious instincts of the poet, and Momme Nissen even called Goethe's thought "a necessary preliminary stage to Catholicism" (p. 429)! Similar understanding now inspired Catholic criticism of the individual works, which generally agreed with Protestant and secular appreciation. The Franciscan Expeditus Schmidt maintained "that Goethe created in *Faust* the story of eternal mankind in its struggle between good and evil" (p. 435), and Herman Hefele found in it "revealed the inadequacy of that which is mortal" (p. 443).

It is such criticism that we have to take into account, if instead of merely repeating a phrase we really seek to understand why Goethe is a representative of German culture as a whole. It is such criticism also which will have to be considered by any one trying to describe Goethe as a representative of the modern age. For this age is neither all Protestant nor all secular, and the Catholic attitude towards the Infinite is still one of our spiritual possibilities, although like this reviewer one may not personally share it. If Catholics with their different outlook on life can and do claim Goethe "in many respects as their spiritual ally" (p. 452), then our treatment of him as a central figure in modern literature is far from subjective and appears justified indeed.

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*Herder*. By A. GILLIES. Oxford: B. Blackwell, Modern Language Studies, 1945. Pp. 152. 12s 6d.

The publication of this monograph on the occasion of the bicentenary of Herder (1744-1803) by the Herder expert Dr. A. Gillies (University College, Hull) comes at a timely moment. The author of the *Ideen*, which according to Macaulay marks an "era in the intellectual history of modern Europe," gained fame in England only slowly. "Henry Crabb Robinson found Herder, next to Goethe, to be the one who attracted him most in Weimar. . . . An article by him on Herder was, however, returned by the *Monthly Review* in 1803 because of lack of public interest. In contrast to Robinson, Coleridge was openly hostile, as might be expected from an enthusiastic follower of Kant" (p. 122). However, Herder found admirers in De Quincey, Macaulay, Edgar Quinet, Renan, Mazzini, and T. G. Masaryk. Like Nietzsche, he was fated to be misinterpreted at home and abroad. But Herder was, as Dr. Gillies convincingly proves, "the friend not the enemy of internationalism." Yet the imprecision of Herder's grandiose doctrines of humanity and nations was, alas, one of the causes of misunderstanding.

Herder's decisive influence on Europe stands out clearly: He substituted faith for reason; his nationalism was intended as a pillar of universal love among mankind; he freed German literature from its sterile imitation of French and Classical models; his worship of creative activity nourished a political emotionalism which above all inspired the German and the Slavonic worlds to nationalistic dreams: "Anyone who wishes to see a modern version of Herder's *Humanitätsideal*, should read the works of that great statesman and philosopher of history, particularly the final chapters of *The Making of a State* (1927). Masaryk was a keen student of Herder, as of all German Classicism." Russia was to Herder the "land of the future," as the historic mission of the Teutonic races had, with the overthrow of the Roman Empire, been fulfilled (pp. 129-30).

An intrinsic feature of his book is its comprehensiveness. Herder's personality, as well as the process of his intellectual universality, is fully elucidated so the reader can clearly trace Herder's basically Western thought and historical outlook and mysticism. His "apotheosis of the senses" is well contrasted with Kant's and Lessing's philosophy. Also the roots of emotionalism are laid bare. To Herder's mind the chief mission of the poet lay in the task of communicating and creating passion. The chapters dealing with Lessing's *Laokoon* and the Provençal origins of modern literature (p. 91) and especially those dealing with parallels between Herder and Goethe's *Faust* (pp. 62, 82, 95, 100, 109, etc.) offer an important contribution to our study of the Classic age in Weimar. The references to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Herder's theory of language, and the actual reasons for the feud between Goethe and Herder would perhaps lend themselves to more detailed treatment.

The great value of Dr. Gillies' work lies above all in an exemplary scholarly objectivity, most happily coupled with a rare sympathy and human understanding. The book, pleasantly got up despite wartime difficulties, is enhanced by two portraits.

AUGUST CLOSS

University of Bristol

*Baudelaire: A Criticism.* By JOSEPH D. BENNETT. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. 164. \$2.00.

If the reviewer is baffled in his attempt to present a fair evaluation of *Baudelaire: A Criticism*, it may be because the purpose of the author is not clear. Is the book intended as a scholarly criticism, as a popularization, or as an independent work of artistic literary creation? In whichever balance it is weighed, it is found equally wanting. The exposition is devoid of the usual critical apparatus, there is no bibliography even of Baudelaire's writings, the "locus" of quotations is rarely "citus," and it is not always evident whether the statements are those of the poet or the critic. The central thesis—that Baudelaire passed from a diabolical state of "dandyism" to a condition of saint-

hood, from the man of intellect to the man of charity, from Satanism to orthodox Christianity, by the "slow, agonizing purgation of his pride"—is not superficially apparent to the casual reader, and is insufficiently developed by the critic. Rather is this general philosophical interpretation presented in a series of disconnected, dogmatic assertions, without the support of authority, and without demonstration or proof, either inductive or deductive.

After this central theme is disposed of, the poet is introduced to the reader through his works. These are considered in three categories: those poems which "principally exploit the paradox of the existence of good and evil in man, treating the problem of sin"; those which "principally deal with the despair and suffering of the victim, who is victim both of remorse for sin and of the misery of modern metropolitan civilization"; and those which "present the pagan paradise of *volupté* as a refuge from pain and as a dream of peace, harmony, stately movement, and universal correspondence of shapes, smells, sounds, colors, and textures" (pp. 29-30).

The analyses recall the sterile "explications de textes" of French schoolmasters. A short selection, quoted, then translated, is followed by a detailed exegesis. For example:

Et quand nous respirons, la mort dans nos poumons  
Descend, fleuve invisible, avec de sourdes plaintes.

And when we breathe, death into the lungs  
Descends, invisible river, with smothered lamentations.

Death rides with us every minute, slowly accreting in each sinful act like salt crystals dissolved in water which suddenly precipitate out when just that tiny crystal is added which saturates the solution and brings them, formerly invisible, out of the clear liquid to fall heavily to the bottom of the glass (p. 36).

Or:

-Son coeur! Coeur racorni, fumé comme un jambon,  
Recuit à la flamme éternelle!

-Her heart! Shriveled heart, smoked like a ham,  
Recooked in eternal flame!

Shriveled and hardened—*racorni*—by covetously looking out for its own interests. Toughened by wariness, sharp practice, and rational contempt for weakness, superstition—any mystery—until it is as dehydrated, wiry, and sinewy as a hardened, but reddened, smoked ham, hanging and swinging on its cord from the breastbone, as if from the roof of a smokehouse. It is the heart of Voltaire. It is even more tough and lumpy because it has been cooked in eternal flame, like a roasted nut (p. 48).

So does the poet's mild mysticism degenerate into the critic's mystification.

The translations are usually accurate and apt, but not always. For instance, "large skirts" (p. 1) and "profound throat" (p. 61) indicate a too great trust in cognates; *celle qui* (p. 46) is incorrectly rendered "that which," and *aurais pu* (p. 72) "would have"; the subject of "dragged" (p. 7) is uncertain; and the rendition of *Le*



*beau valet de coeur et la dame de pique* (p. 91) as "The dandy valet of the heart and the lady of pique" suggests failure to recognize the playing-card figures.

Judged independently of its subject, the work is characterized by offensive crudity of expression, obscurity of concept, incoherence of development, looseness of syntax, and violations of diction which range from unjustifiable license to actual incorrectness.

Isolated illustrations of breaches of taste must suffice:

. . . Jeanne, rolling her white nigger eyeballs, chattering incoherently like a monkey (p. 5).

. . . he had undergone severe religious experience in which he had been clawed open by Irresistible Grace (p. 12).

*Vieux garçons* are "old goats of the Jockey Club" (p. 68).

Examples of undue liberties of diction could be multiplied, but the most prevalent abuse is the use of intransitive verbs transitively:

. . . coheres our experience (p. 27)

. . . they deteriorate us (p. 50)

The chariot deteriorates the road (p. 53)

. . . incandesces the spiritualized flesh (p. 126)

Unnecessary neologisms include "revulsed eyes" (p. 62) and "picturize" (p. 26), while "expense" is carelessly used for "expenditure" (p. 61).

As faults of syntax, these may be noted: "larvae who flowed" (p. 67); "walked among the depravity" (p. 5); "If I had not seen . . . the queen of my heart, she of the unparalleled gaze . . ." (p. 73); "Wisdom and humility comes to him" (p. 3); "Already resigned, release came quickly" (p. 4); "She is *pieuse* like Flaubert's Françoise is *pieuse*" (p. 79); "Like the immense snow swallows a body . . ." (p. 140).

Mechanically, the book is marred by numerous misprints: *humilie* for *humilié* (p. 43); *que* for *qui* (p. 49); *fair* for *fait* (p. 58); *L'ecume* for *L'écume* (p. 61); *riche* for *riches* (p. 62); *vièrge* for *vierges* (p. 63); *confusement* for *confusément* (p. 65); *grande coeur* (p. 77); *noirs songeries* (twice) (p. 78); *grands douleurs* (twice) (pp. 77 and 78); *Petites poèmes* (p. 107); *chauds soirées* (p. 127); *Une voyage* (p. 160).

In extenuating the use of offensive vulgarities of expression, it might be urged that the critic was merely reflecting a practice all too common in the writing of his subject. However, Baudelaire provides the compensation of penetrating revelations indicative of creative genius, while the pages of the *Criticism* offer no such mitigation. Actually, the best reflections on Baudelaire's contribution are those quoted *passim* from the poet himself, and the reader's energies would better be devoted to their direct perusal than to the study of a criticism which furnishes little clarification or appreciation.

LURLINE V. SIMPSON

University of Washington

*Brazil: An Interpretation.* By GILBERTO FREYRE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. Pp. 179. \$2.00.

*Brazil: An Interpretation* presents in book form the series of lectures delivered at Indiana University during the autumn of 1944 by Gilberto Freyre, foremost contemporary sociologist of Brazil.

At once concise and penetrating, this study is an analysis of Brazilian life in all of its most significant aspects. The author's understanding of the varied and distinctive sociological factors that have determined the course of his country's development makes his interpretation one of discernment.

From the first chapter, which traces the European background of Brazilian history, to the last, which concerns modern Brazilian literature and its relation to Brazilian social problems, Mr. Freyre draws a colorful portrait, always with emphasis upon the heterogeneous ethnic and cultural influences that have distinguished the destiny of Brazil from that of the other countries of South America, and that have established what its contribution to the world shall be. In his chapter on foreign policy, Mr. Freyre defines thus the peculiar nature of this contribution:

It seems that Brazil has a distinct contribution to make to the development of human personality in the modern world. The contribution will probably come from the extra-European type of civilization that the most dynamic and creative groups of the Brazilian population are developing in spite of immense difficulties. It will manifest itself through the inter-American and foreign policy of Brazil as well as through all authentically Brazilian art and literature. But the policy, the art, and the literature will be hypocritical whenever Brazil seeks to express herself intellectually and politically as an altogether white nation; whenever she acts as if her interests, her problems and her ideals were those of a European or sub-European nation and not those of a really new and dynamic American community, not ashamed of its Amerindian, Jewish, and African basic elements but proud of them.

Mr. Freyre's study provides pleasurable reading, and will prove enlightening to many Anglo-American readers for whom Brazil is still a country very little known.

CLOTILDE WILSON

*University of Washington*

*Geoffrey of Monmouth, 1640-1800.* By ERNEST JONES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in English, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1944. Pp. 357-442. \$1.00.

What Dr. Jones set out to do he has done very well. His object was to collect references to Geoffrey of Monmouth in "the more significant works" which appeared between the years 1640 and 1800. He has interpreted the word "significant" very liberally and has examined many works which most of us have scarcely heard of. What he found he seems to have recorded accurately; fairly exten-

sive checking reveals only two errors of sufficient importance to be misleading and so to call for correction. On page 361 (and again on page 374) he speaks of "the second edition of his [i.e., Dr. John Davies'] *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae . . . Dictionarium* (1632)." But this is the first and only complete edition of Davies' dictionary; is Dr. Jones perhaps confusing it with the same author's *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae . . . Rudimenta* of 1621, which is a grammar? On page 388 he says, "In a long note in the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica* (1778) Andrew Kippis cites the usual arguments. . . ." His reference which reads "*ibid.* Vol. I, p. 264, note" directs us to Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774), but obviously he meant to refer to the corresponding pages of the second edition of the *Biographia*. However, this long note had already appeared in the first edition (I, 198) so that this discussion of Geoffrey belongs properly to the year 1747 rather than to 1778, and the probability is that Andrew Kippis had nothing whatever to do with its authorship.

The real weakness of Dr. Jones's study is that the field is too large to be properly covered in the time one can normally allow for a doctoral dissertation, or to be adequately presented in less than 90 pages, which may be all that the paper shortage permitted him to use. Book after book is taken up, the reference to Geoffrey excerpted or the absence of a reference where one might expect to find one is noted, and then it is laid aside. Finally the accumulated slips are arranged in chronological order and printed. On page after page, two sentences are the normal allotment to an author; many authors receive only one. There is some attempt to sum up at the end of each chapter, but it is rather perfunctory. At times, too, the presentation of a brief statement out of its context and without its background gives a somewhat erroneous impression of what the cited author actually held.

JOHN J. PARRY

University of Illinois

*Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century.* By HELEN C. WHITE. New York: Macmillan Company, 1944. Pp. ix + 330. \$3.50.

Miss White's valuable book enlarges and intensifies our understanding of social dislocation in sixteenth-century England, or rather our understanding of that considerable part of social uneasiness which arose from pressure of the propertyless against the propertied. The author is realistically concerned with propaganda intended for popular consumption, much of it in the form of sermons or prescriptions for the dissemination of social doctrine through religious channels. She traces the evolution of the points of view here involved from two traditions: the *Piers Plowman* pattern of social-

religious protest, stemming from Langland and Wyclif, and the commonwealth tradition coming from Plato through More's *Utopia*. Although characterized by fundamentally orthodox premises, both these currents of protest contained originally the essentials of compassion for the dispossessed and outspokenness against exploitation. Later in the century both traditions hardened into a prevailing concern for social stability, although the commonwealth tradition did not substitute a new religious order for a new social order, as did the later Piers Plowman tradition.

There is something depressing, though not surprising, in the slowly unfolding story of the preachers of social reform who, disturbed by the popular eagerness with which their protest was received, curbed their indignation and debased their program into the formula, known during all social crises, of continuing to deplore exploitation but disclaiming all imputations of "leveling," and condemning mass political action as the one unthinkable recourse. It is the more depressing since it was through this program that many preachers sought and received the support of the government. Miss White (p. 155) "sees no reason to accuse them of sheer opportunism in this," although on the same page she declares that "it is hard to see how even the most ambitious of magistracies could fail to be satisfied with the co-operation they proffered." It is, of course, exceedingly difficult to convict anyone of "sheer" opportunism, and it is true that many preachers continued to attack the rich as well as the poor (see the chapter on Usury). But the better course, it seems to me, would have been to let the record speak without even occasional discussion of motives, especially since Miss White is aware of the wryly comic character of some of the back-tracking.

The question which materializes from between the lines on almost every page of Miss White's book is one of the actual extent of social threat from the restless poor. This question the author handles judiciously. She observes (p. 80) that the theme of class antagonism was consistently a very good device for getting a hearing, and she calls deserved attention throughout to the almost prurient interest which could be aroused by mention or discussion of communism of the Anabaptist stamp. The author shrewdly realizes that we cannot go much beyond this, because one of the most difficult problems of social history is the separation of actuality from polemical emphasis. Perhaps the problem here is closely analogous to that which would face an interpreter, three hundred years hence, of our current anti-strike editorials. The chances of this descendant of ours being wrong in his inferences are immense, and unless he were to possess collateral information he could scarcely guess the relatively small proportion of man-hours lost to us owing to labor stoppages. But these editorials should no more be dismissed as records of our time, simply for that reason, than should the sixteenth-century moralizing discussed by Miss White be discounted as evidence for the period she covers. Our editorials may run counter to statistical fact, but they are indications of something more fundamental: a deep sense of uneasiness in certain quarters concerning the growth of labor organization and a desire to discourage it. To say that class conflict was sensed by six-

teenth-century conservatives is to put it mildly, but that the expressed concern over it and over primitive communism cannot be literally construed, Miss White is right in assuming.

I cannot agree, however, with Miss White's apparent belief that the exploitation of Anabaptist leveling or communism as a propaganda device against dissenters waned toward the end of the sixteenth century. Strong evidence that it did not can be derived from three influential documents of the last decade of the century: a Paul's Cross sermon preached by Bancroft, February 9, 1589, Bishop Cooper's *Admonition*, and Richard Cosin's *Conspiracie for Pretended Reformation* (1592). The first two are attacks on church reformers in general and the Martinists in particular. The last is a diatribe against the Presbyterian position and an exhortation of the "rising" of Hackett, Arthington, and Coppinger. Miss White (p. 126) feels that the Anabaptists by 1592 "remained a by-word, matter for jesting even among serious minded men," whereas for the preachers of the mid-century, "communism was no jesting matter." From the three characteristic documents I have mentioned, however, the Londoner of around 1590 was seriously asked to believe that anti-Anglican factions were intent first upon depriving the bishops and thereafter (and fundamentally) upon wrecking the whole hierarchy of property. This statement of the argument is really pretty weak; it would be hard to match the ponderous invective and hysteria with which Bancroft, Cooper, and Cosin attempt to paint their opposition with the traditional Anabaptist hue.

While it is regrettable that Miss White did not round out her picture of the century with the inclusion of such forthright social-religious propagandists, it would be unfair for a reviewer to imply that the book lacks completeness. Statistical sampling, not a fetish of inclusiveness, is the only justifiable criterion of judgment, and I have ventured to add items in the single instance I know of where they seriously modify an important conclusion. These are not items of social protest, but they are reactions to it and are an inevitable result of the traditional disclaimers of leveling which Miss White describes exhaustively. Above all, the materialistic appeal of these publications is strong amplification of Miss White's point (see p. 39) that by the seventeenth century the social problem had been absorbed into the religious. In them an attack on the church establishment is answered as though it were an attack upon property itself.

Those interested in the evolution of democratic pressure in English history can be very thankful for a book which analyzes currents of social criticism moving steadily from the fourteenth century. To have enlarged with some new evidence the connection between Tudor affairs and the politics of the seventeenth century is one contribution Miss White has made. To have explained with thoroughness the origin of this unbroken tradition in pre-Tudor centuries is the other.

BRENTS STIRLING

University of Washington

*The Tragic Muse of John Ford.* By G. F. SENSABAUGH. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1944. Pp. x + 196. \$2.00.

Reviewing the opinions of previous commentators, Professor Sensabaugh finds that Ford has often been damned as the high priest of decadence and often hailed as the prophet of the modern mind. Both titles seem to him fitting. He feels that, while "decadent" has had a sufficiently definite meaning in Ford criticism, "modern" has been used very hazily. Most of the volume is devoted to the definition and discussion of Ford's modernity. The principal modern elements which he discovers in Ford's thinking are "scientific determinism" and "unbridled individualism."

Ford believes, according to the author, that human deportment is governed by natural laws, and his characters behave accordingly. The scientific theories which underlie his characterizations, of course, are those of the psychology current in his own time. Drawing upon Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* for documentation, the author has traced the scientific element in Ford's more important characters. Since Ford's principal theme is love, most of his tragic characters are frustrated lovers. Frustration engenders love melancholy, as, according to the old psychology, it necessarily must; and his characters exhibit the physical debilities and psychological extravagances which Burton lists as symptoms of lovesickness. Frequently the consequences are calamitous. Professor Sensabaugh emphasizes the obvious implication of this scientific character drawing: since the characters are compelled to act as they do by the operation of scientific law, they are not morally responsible.

Ford manifests his individualism, says the writer, in advocating the principle that the desires of the individual have moral priority over the conventions of society. Adultery and incest, then, may be morally defensible. Yet when a lover's desires conflict with social mores, society may win. Thus arises tragedy. The author believes that, in his inversion of traditional morality, Ford shows the influence of a "Platonic" code of love ethics which was much in vogue in the court of Queen Henrietta Maria. The volume includes a very interesting discussion of this courtly ethical system.

In characterizing Ford as the apostle of an unconventional sex ethics, the writer has ample precedent. Ford criticism from Langbaine on down has inclined to the view that Ford has represented erotic sin as alluring and justifiable. It is not hard to find vindications of illicit love in the lines of Ford's leading characters. Yet, as a few commentators have pointed out, it is unreasonable to attribute to the playwright any opinion or attitude which his characters may express, especially since he represents many of these as mentally unbalanced. Unquestionably Ford depicts his amorous sinners very sympathetically. This does not mean, however, that he approves of their sins. There is no denying that Ford's tragic characters suffer because their desires conflict with traditional rules of conduct. This fact, however, does not demonstrate that Ford regards the dictates of love as a



moral law superior to conventional ethics. Indeed it seems strange that a scientific determinist should be the advocate of any kind of moral law, conventional or unconventional. One might reasonably expect Professor Sensabaugh to deal with some of these fairly obvious objections.

It is hard to tell whether or not the writer considers Ford a thoroughgoing determinist. I doubt that Ford followed scientific determinism to its logical ethical conclusion, although clearly he exempted the mentally diseased from moral responsibility. I cannot agree with the writer that Ford was a subversive moralist. As I read the evidence, Ford's moral principles were those generally accepted among his contemporaries. The evidence, however, is somewhat obscure, and differences of interpretation are inevitable. In any case, the volume considerably clarifies the issues in Ford criticism, it discusses the scientific element in Ford's plays informatively and illuminatingly, and it offers an interesting and provocative attempt to analyze the modern spirit which so many readers have perceived in Ford's drama.

LAWRENCE BABB

*Michigan State College*

*Studies in English.* By the Department of English, University of Texas, 1944. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1945. Pp. 297.

Of the nine articles in this volume, dated in the bicentennial year 1944, six are appropriately concerned with Alexander Pope, and appropriately the leading article is by the devoted scholar whose bibliographical labors have gone so far to promote the study of Pope in our time. Of all poets, Pope by his care in revising the numerous editions of his work invites the refinements of textual comparison; the great collection of books at Texas also invites such comparison. Mr. R. H. Griffith's editing of the *Essay on Criticism* and the first two Epistles of the *Essay on Man* and Mr. Edward G. Fletcher's editing of the *Rape of the Lock* present us with vivid examples of how far the process of refinement may be carried. By faithful reproduction of texts and a "triplet of tables" Mr. Griffith enables the reader "to recover the text of any line in any lawful edition printed in Pope's life-time" or "if he desires" to "reconstruct the poem entire in the edition of any year he may choose." The critical implications of such an apparatus are indicated in repeated references to what was in Pope's mind, "what of Pope's intent we may learn from his revisions," what an author intended or searched for, and are illustrated by Mr. Griffith's critical commentaries on the revisions. Such tabulation of all earlier, temporary, and rejected phrases of a great poem is different from the efforts that have been expended in reconstructing, let us say, Chaucerian or Shakespearean texts, and such tabulation must imply that there is some particular aid to evaluation in the contrast between a poem and all the combinations of inferior



tries by the *same author*—an aid which is not to be found in contrasts with hypothetical versions—though contrasts with hypothetical versions are implicit as the basis of any judgment of value in poetry. A certain amount of attention to a poet's rejected phrases may well be a stimulus to critical imagination, but it remains to be asked whether one cannot readily invent worse alternatives to any of Pope's couplets than he himself provides in his earlier versions. The critical issue is accentuated by the appearance of Mr. Fletcher's textual editing of the *Rape of the Lock* so close upon the recent distinguished editing of Mr. Geoffrey Tillotson. Where Mr. Tillotson includes "variants that reach a certain level of interest" in ten editions from the short version of 1712 to Warburton's edition of 1751, Mr. Fletcher includes every alteration of wording, even misprints, in fourteen editions. Where Mr. Tillotson confessedly omits those notes of Pope which "call attention to revisions" and hence are supplanted by the textual apparatus, and where he is quite free with Warburton, silently omitting many of his notes, especially the merely opinionative, Mr. Fletcher has undertaken to reproduce entire all the notes of both Pope and Warburton. Mr. Fletcher's is in a sense the more scrupulous reproduction, and it may seem ungenerous to cavil at his scruples or at the minute and accurate labor of Mr. Griffith. One must at least be grateful for the reprint of not easily accessible texts. Yet so vast is the material in our libraries for studies of this temper that it behooves us, while we are yet somewhere near the outset, to reflect on the full implications of our method.

The richest essay is Mr. George Sherburn's on "*The Dunciad*, Book IV," where he expounds the intellectual principles of Pope's satire, his "development away from mere personality to a wider meaning," and the imaginative structure and detail of the poem. The comparison of the kaleidoscopic and dreamlike images in the royal drawing-room of Dulness to Fielding's *Author's Farce* and *Pasquin* is a fine illumination of *Dunciad* IV, and the insistence on Pope's concrete and specialized imagery is important for our general critical account of neoclassicism. It is time to admit that neoclassic writers, with the clear exception of Johnson, did not put into practice the literal meaning of their best-known theoretical statements. Pope's defense of "Particulars" in a note to the *Iliad* quoted by Mr. Sherburn presents an interesting problem in relation to "Nature methodised," the unnumbered streaks of the tulip, and Warton's "minute and particular enumeration of circumstances."

Mr. Arthur Case's essay on "The Game of Ombre" is an attempt to add last shadings to an analysis which begins with Mrs. Battle and runs into the pages of the *TLS* for March, 1941. In some of these shadings he would seem to be fairly anticipated by his forerunners, especially Mr. Bateson. Mr. Case follows Mr. Morrah in noting that even if Belinda plays *sans prendre*, her opponents have the privilege of drawing from the stock. It is certain then that Pope has neglected to mention one phase of the handling of the cards. As Mr. Tillotson has argued, the drawing from the stock would not make a dramatic description and is irrelevant to Pope's scheme. We know

just enough about the hands to see that the nymph is really "skilful," and that in the fifth trick she suffers a stroke of bad luck, though in the end she is permitted by fate to enjoy the victory. The remarks of Mr. Bateson and Mr. Case about the Aristotelian implications of the game, the peripety, and the hubris, are altogether apt.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Oscar Maurer's "Pope and the Victorians" offers us an exceedingly generous sampling of a critical era, with the Elwin-Courthope edition as a controversial vortex. In the year 1944 it is well to be reminded that Pope could be blamed (by the John Dennis of 1870) for writing "none of the verses which children love," while Ruskin in the same year could speak of his "serene and just benevolence." With Elwin's editing, the benevolence even more than the poetry fell into question, but today we are more and more inclined to accept both (cf. the essays of Mr. James E. Tobin in *Thought* for 1944). It is to be hoped only that we stop short of making the benevolence an article of belief and the poetry dependent on that, or on Pope's "sincerity."

Mr. Theodore Stenberg in his "Quotations from Pope in Johnson's Dictionary" traces the linguistic authority of Pope through Johnson to Webster and the *New International* and produces some evidence that Pope, despite his reputation for conservatism, was an innovator in the use both of colloquial and learned words. Mr. Louis A. Landa, in "Swift, the Mysteries, and Deism," argues convincingly that in forming our opinion of Swift's religion or irreligion we must not take the author of *A Tale of a Tub* separately from the Christian divine and author of such sermons as that "On the Trinity." Mr. Arthur H. Scouten in "Shakespeare's Plays in the Theatrical Repertory When Garrick Came to London" produces statistics in support of the view already "held by Nicoll and numerous other scholars" that Garrick, though he added volume to the wave of enthusiasm for

<sup>1</sup> It would be no derogation from Pope's art even if a relentlessly technical analysis of the game of ombre did end in an impasse. But since niceties are being urged, let me observe that if we take the "Behold, four Kings" passage for what it seems to be, a description of the hands as dealt, i.e., if all twelve face cards were in the three hands as dealt, then Belinda had her three kings and two queens and at least one "Matadore," and she must (as Mr. Bateson and Mr. Case observe) have bid *sans prendre* (unless we weaken her hand by taking away the two Matadores not explicitly mentioned, and then it may be doubtful why she bid spades at all). On the other hand, this interpretation of the "Behold, four Kings" passage does not mean, as Mr. Morrah argues, that all the face cards and all the trumps were in the hands as dealt, for the five small trumps held by the Baron and the third player might well be acquired by drawing. On any supposition (*sans prendre* or asking leave) we know the Baron did draw from the stock and probably the third player did. Unhappily, if we advert to this, it makes the trumping of Belinda's club depend partly on the Baron's skill in discarding. All the more reason why Pope should suppress the drawing from the stock and emphasize the appearance from the third player's hand of Pam, the jack of clubs, which suggests to Belinda that he is out of clubs and the Baron may not be. The low cards in the hands of Belinda and the third player are indeterminate and irrelevant. There are several ways (see Mr. Tillotson, Mr. Bateson, and Mr. Case) of accounting satisfactorily for the "Clubs, Diamonds, Hearts" which fall during the Baron's onslaught in the sixth and seventh tricks.

Shakespeare, was not the cause of it. Mr. Leo Hughes in "The Influence of Fielding's Milieu upon His Humour" discusses, in somewhat general terms, the relation of Fielding's humor to his moral bent, to literary factionalism, and to politics. The collection of essays as a whole is well rounded and integrated about the central figure of Pope. The later essays on Swift and Fielding carry the mind back to Mr. Sherburn's remarks about the attack on "rationalizing divines" in the *Dunciad* and the fondness shared by Pope and Fielding for the "Cibberian forehead."

W. K. WIMSATT, JR.

Yale University

*Endymion in England: The Literary History of a Greek Myth.* By EDWARD S. LECOMTE. New York: King's Crown Press, 1944. Pp. xiv + 189. \$2.25.

As the impossibility of keeping knowledge confined to the old comfortable cubbyholes has become more and more evident and the interrelations among the various fields of scholarship have become clearer, the demands upon the scholar have increased accordingly. Of none is this more true than of the literary mythologist, who is forced to be a linguist, anthropologist, historian, and psychologist, as well as a student of humane letters. Unless he wishes to give merely a superficial descriptive account, he is compelled to study the psychological and cultural significance of a particular myth, to investigate its various forms and meanings wherever and whenever it appears, to attempt to find correlations among data drawn from sources ranging from national religion to personal biography, and to consider the functional effectiveness of the myth in particular works of art.

Dr. Edward S. LeComte in his *Endymion in England* aimed first to give a survey of the Endymion myth in antiquity and then to trace its course in English literature from the Elizabethan period to the end of the nineteenth century, and he has accomplished his aim with patience, skill, and good judgment. Even with the help of von Sybel's investigations and other encyclopedic studies *der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, the task of assembling, translating, and interpreting the allusions to Endymion in Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Apollonius Rhodius, Cicero, Lucian, Pausanias, Ovid, and others, was not easy, and this was just the beginning. In the following chapters LeComte not only cites numerous allusions to the myth in English and other languages (though this is not a study in comparative literature), alludes to various statues, musical compositions, and paintings, and reports the investigations of anthropologists and psychologists, but also gives extended studies of the longer English works based on the story, namely, Lyly's *Endimion*, Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* and *The Man in the Moone*, and Keats's *Endymion*. His cautious support of Mrs. Josephine W. Bennett's contention that Lyly's work

alludes to the affair of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, with Anne Vavasour, appears to be justified; and his exposition of the didacticism of Drayton's work is not only adequate but surprisingly entertaining. His critical powers are at their best, however, in his final chapter. Of the many sensible comments to be found there, one may cite his remark on the question of the allegorical interpretation of Keats's *Endymion*: "If, as is generally assumed, the Indian maid stands for the sensuous side of love, it is strange to find Cynthia, the spiritual side, treated much more sensuously, a serious error of judgment if Keats had the philosophical intentions of which he has been suspected."

LeComte's intentional neglect of some of the reference works available in the Renaissance, such as Cartari's *Imagines Deorum*, is not to be regarded as a fault, for inclusion of this material was not necessary. But still the book falls short in several respects. Too much of it is recapitulation of what was already well known, too much is only a surface description, and highly significant correlations are omitted. It is, for example, questionable whether devoting twelve pages to a review of what other scholars have said of Lyly's *Endymion* was worthwhile, especially since LeComte's conclusion is only that topical interpretations are "more likely to be wrong than right." His account of Drayton's work does little more than summarize the poems. And sometimes he fails to develop a promising point. He makes the excellent remark, for example, that "Keats has displayed his own individuality by making Endymion 'contemplative' and 'solitary.'" But this remark stands alone, no more is said, and one is left wondering what in Keats's psychological makeup caused him to emphasize these points, and how they square with Endymion's actions in Book Three, where he is neither contemplative nor solitary, but an active savior who brings about deliverance from death.

It must be admitted, of course, that to develop all these points would have required almost superhuman labors, and the inadequacies of the book are not so much a reflection upon LeComte as upon the state of scholarship in general. If, for example, more thorough psychobiographical studies of such authors as Arnold and Keats had been available, LeComte would certainly have been able to do more with problems like those mentioned above. Admitting the inadequacy of our present knowledge, one must add that LeComte has made a thorough and enlightened study of a very complicated subject.

H. E. BRIGGS

*University of Southern California*

*Byron's Don Juan: A Critical Study.* By ELIZABETH FRENCH BOYD. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 193. \$3.50.

This study of Byron's "Don Juan" is comprehensive enough to interest both general reader and special student. It provides simul-

taneously a popular guide to the poem and a scholarly analysis of its literary background. Here will be found complete information about "Don Juan": the story of its making, a synopsis of its contents, expositions of its outstanding themes and ideas, and much else besides. But the author's chief purpose is to examine Byron's use of literary materials in fashioning his mighty epic, with a view to enlarging our conception of him as a poet.

It is a major premise of the study that literature as well as life contributed to all of Byron's poetry. For obvious reasons "life" has received the lion's share of critical attention; Byron the dandy and rake has proved more fascinating than Byron the reader and poet. In what is perhaps the most interesting chapter of the book, "Byron's Library and His Reading," Miss Boyd goes beyond the scope of her immediate subject to fix the importance of reading in Byron's life, gathering together all available testimony on the two separate libraries that the poet collected during his career, his reading habits, and his use of books in the composition of his verse. Always a voracious, if unsystematic, reader, Byron spent more time in his library than his biographers and critics have realized or admitted. In his writing he apparently resorted to books for stimulus to his thinking rather than for conscious borrowing, and, of course, for the accuracy in detail on which he prided himself.

With this background established, Miss Boyd undertakes a review of the literary ingredients of "Don Juan." All readers are aware that the poem is studded with literary allusion and reminiscence, and that the two central episodes of the shipwreck and the siege are based on factual narrative. This portion of the study, however, is concerned less with examining particular sources than with exploring the poem's connection with the literary traditions and motifs that underlie its shifting narrative. Yet full justice is done to presenting the claims of the many obscure works which have been put forward from time to time as providing some portion of the texture of "Don Juan"; and to these Miss Boyd adds some suggestions of her own.

Source hunting for "Don Juan," however, seems unlikely to be productive of anything more final than conjecture about what Byron "might have read" or "must have known." In spite of contemporary charges of plagiarism and diligent sleuthing since, there has been no significant addition to the documentary sources that Byron himself acknowledged. His claim that "no writer ever borrowed less" may still go unchallenged. How his mind, consciously or subconsciously, worked upon book materials is another matter, but one which will probably baffle literary analysis. What he had absorbed in his multifarious reading was so inextricably fused with what he had lived and thought that to determine the precise role of literature in a poem so vast and varied as "Don Juan" would be to fathom the mystery of the creative imagination.

Miss Boyd does not attempt to do this. But in emphasizing and analyzing the literary background of Byron's masterpiece, she gives additional testimony to the sweep of the poet's mind; and in restating

what Byron had to say to the world on the topics dearest to his heart, she contributes to the growing opinion that in spite of its humor and irony "Don Juan" is fundamentally a serious work of pronounced moral implications. This dissertation is characterized by good writing and good scholarship. The bookmaking regrettably seems to be something of a war casualty.

FRANK H. RISTINE

*Hamilton College*

*The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712.* Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and MARION TINLING. Richmond, Virginia: The Dietz Press, 1941. Pp. xxv + 622. \$5.00.

*An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America (1701): An Anonymous Virginian's Proposals for Liberty Under the British Crown, with Two Memoranda by William Byrd.* Edited by LOUIS B. WRIGHT. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1945. Pp. xxiv + 66. \$2.50.

These two valuable contributions to knowledge about colonial Virginia show what a rich and extensive body of material is available in the writings and records of William Byrd II and the Byrd circle. While the *Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations* is anonymous, Mr. Louis Wright has made it clear enough that the author was someone close to the Byrds, probably Robert Beverley, who was a brother-in-law to William Byrd II. Mr. Wright also puts forward the possibility that William Byrd I may have had a hand in the writing.

A preliminary checking of the material in this book, containing as it does the drafts of two memorials to be presented to the Board of Trade from a notebook in the handwriting of William Byrd II, shows how closely the anonymous author and William Byrd II agree on the major issues facing the plantation owners of Virginia. It may be possible to establish the authorship of the anonymous essay by means other than similarity of ideas and the few personal references contained in the text. As a matter of fact these personal references only set possible limits to the authorship, and debatable limits at that. Since the author frankly states that he wants the safety of anonymity, it is possible that those references about the author living in Virginia, sending his manuscript to a friend in England, and being in a poor state of health are designedly false clues. A brief check against the vocabulary and spelling of the Byrd II portion showed that Byrd II was not the author of the *Essay*, and that the printer, Richard Parker, did not alter the spelling of the written manuscript (whatever it was) to any systematic style established by the printer. The characteristic spelling and vocabulary of the *Essay* are suggested as good leads to an investigation of the authorship of this work.



*The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover* is the result of some good detective work. Deciphering the private shorthand of William Byrd II was made possible by shorthand passages in longhand abstracts of Sir Edward Coke's *Reports*. A second difficult task was to fill in where possible the omitted vowels in proper names and to identify the persons named. This work has been conscientiously done so that scholars have available a roster of Virginians contemporary with William Byrd II and something about them. The *Secret Diary* is an intimate, daily record of the activities of William Byrd II. The historical, the social, the cultural details made available are of very great value. Particularly so are the illuminating small facts rare in the typical historical document—the daily bill of fare, prices, current home remedies for illness, daily reading habits, the concrete routine of plantation administration, the actions and opinions of an important member of the colonial administration of Virginia. Out of these data comes a greatly enlarged understanding of early Virginia.

The secret Byrd diary does not have the intrinsic interest of Pepys's diary, but it is fully comparable to Sewall's diary. The pioneer work of the editors has cleared the way for the publication of the remaining portions of Byrd's *Secret Diary* which have been withheld. This work will provide materials for biographies, popular or otherwise, of one of this country's most colorful colonial personalities. It will be a necessary source for cross-references and checking data about contemporary Virginians and even some from the neighboring colonies. For these reasons the publication of the *Secret Diary* is a major event for American historical scholarship.

E. H. EBY

*University of Washington*

*A Concordance of the Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* By BRADFORD A. BOOTH and CLAUDE E. JONES. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xiv + 211. \$5.50.

This concordance is a welcome addition as a tool for scholarship in the field of American letters. To be useful, however, to the full extent of its kind it should be accurate and so arranged as to be convenient for all the conceivable purposes for which anyone might want to use it. Unfortunately it is not satisfactory either way.

In the matter of accuracy a brief and random check of the concordance brought to light so many errors that the authority of the whole work was seriously damaged. In cross-checking fewer than fifty lines, the following inconsistencies showed up:

Bird

The mock-bird chirping on the thorn

Sarah 8

Mock

The mock-bird chirping on the thorn

Sarah 3



Moon		
We can discover a <i>moon ray</i>	Fairy-Land (1831)	31
Discover		
We can discover a <i>moon-ray</i>	Fairy-Land (1831)	31
Moon		
Beneath the <i>moon ray</i>	Al Aaraaf ii	131
Ray		
Beneath the <i>moon-ray</i>	Al Aaraaf ii	131
Star		
And they put out the <i>star-light</i>	Fairy-Land	9
Light		
And they put out the <i>star light</i>	Fairy-Land	9
Messenger		
Thy messenger hath known	Al Aaraaf i	103
Known		
Thy messenger, hath known	Al Aaraaf i	103
Golden		
The fairy light that <i>kisses</i> her golden hair	Al Aaraaf ii	58
Kissed		
The fairy light that <i>kiss'd</i> her golden hair	Al Aaraaf ii	58

The arrangement of a concordance is a matter for the good judgment of the author as to what would be necessary in any imaginable kind of research for which a concordance might be useful. Excluding most of the terminal punctuation of Poe's lines of verse is unjustified. In many cases such exclusion changes the meaning or fails to create the full context of a word, without which a concordance is certainly of little value. Failure to include cross-references particularly for compound words means that such compounds are listed twice, which invalidates statistical studies unless this doubling is taken into account, and that is not an easy thing to do. In the case of the play *The Politian* the full line is not given, and since the terminal punctuation is usually omitted, the result is such a bare fragment that it is almost meaningless.

The authors might argue that their exclusion of titles from the concordance makes no great difference, but leaving out such titles as "The City in the Sea," which is not used as a line anywhere in Poe's verse, might alter conclusions about his vocabulary, word usage, or the frequencies of such words as are in the titles.

The making of a concordance involves so much drudgery and the chances for error are so multitudinous that a critic ought to include in his judgment a full measure of charity. Accordingly the present one wants it to be clear that the authors of this concordance deserve such rewards as all concordance makers ought to get, their lapses notwithstanding.

E. H. EBY

*University of Washington*

*Hawthorne, the Artist: Fine-Art Devices in Fiction.* By LELAND SCHUBERT. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944. Pp. 177. \$3.50.

Other writers on Hawthorne have touched in passing on the devices Hawthorne employs in his fiction, but Mr. Schubert's is the first study devoted exclusively to Hawthorne as artist. Assuming that any single work of art may be analyzed in terms usually reserved for the others, Mr. Schubert has sought to determine the extent to which Hawthorne uses design, rhythm, color, light-and-shade, sound, and the principle of selection. There is no concern here for what Henry James so finely called "the figure in the carpet." Mr. Schubert does not seek some over-all ideological and artistic pattern which might reveal the nature of Hawthorne's sensibility: his concern, as he tells us many times, is form as divorced from content. Limiting himself to those aspects of Hawthorne's art which bear common denominators to music, painting, sculpture, and, at moments, the moving picture, Mr. Schubert has dealt with Hawthorne in a fresh way and brought into the open certain aspects of Hawthorne's art which were felt rather than perceived before.

The most important contribution made by this volume will be, I think, its revelation of Hawthorne's fine sense of structure. One might quarrel with some of the divisions Mr. Schubert makes in Hawthorne's tales to indicate their structure, but that they can be divided, usually into three parts, that Hawthorne made use of contrast and prefiguration, that he was skillful in grouping his figures and laying his settings, needed to be said, and Mr. Schubert has said it competently. Mr. Schubert's attempt to establish the existence of line in Hawthorne does not seem to me, however, particularly impressive. One does find something suggesting upward and downward movement relieved by transverse lines in "The Ambitious Guest," but it seems to me doubtful if this device contributes much to the effect of the story. What we wait for all the way through the story is the inevitable coming of the avalanche; suspense, created in a variety of ways, unnoticed by Mr. Schubert, seems to me the artistic key to the story. Deserving of criticism also, I believe, is Mr. Schubert's bringing in of other works of art for the purpose of com-

parison. To suggest similarities, even on a formal plane, between "The Hollow of Three Hills" and Grant Wood's "American Gothic," to think of "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" in terms of Ravel's "Bolero," and to suggest that the sound effects of "Young Goodman Brown" approximate the last movement of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*, seem a bit over-ingenious. It suggests also the defect of *Hawthorne, the Artist*: Mr. Schubert is too exclusively concerned with artistic effects to do them justice by indicating their true relevance in Hawthorne's writing. One cannot appreciate even artistic effects by looking at them without reference to what they communicate, at least, not in literature, whatever may be the case in painting, sculpture, and music. Mr. Schubert seems to be aware of this in his most successful chapter where, in dealing with *The Scarlet Letter*, he deserts momentarily the procedure of earlier chapters and indicates the interrelation of form and content, thus giving form its true illumination.

CHARLES HOWELL FOSTER

*University of Colorado*

#### CORRECTION

The following sentence from an article by J. C. Lapp, "An Explorer-Poet: Jean Parmentier," *MLQ*, VI (March, 1945), 84, lines 4-7, which was printed:

Yet since the day of Henry Guy, named as the greatest of the Rhétoriciens after Jean Lemaire—'poète si peu connu, si digne de l'être'—critical mention of Jean Parmentier has been scant

should read:

Yet since Henry Guy named as greatest of the Rhétoriciens, after Jean Lemaire, this 'poète si peu connu, si digne de l'être,' critical mention of Jean Parmentier has been scant.

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\* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.







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